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OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME IV.

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SKETCH

OF THE

MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT

AT

BROADBAY, MAINE.

By JOHN W. JORDAN.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION AT BROAD BAY, MAINE.

1760–1770.

Among the carpenters employed in the erection of the Single Brethren's House, at Herrnhaag, was Hans George Hahn. Leaving there in 1743, he proceeded to Reveilen, in Franken, where he became acquainted with some awakened souls, who were under the care of the chaplain of the Duke of Cassel, with whom he united. Here, too, he was married. After the lapse of a few years, the young couple resolved to go to Pennsylvania and settle in the vicinity of a Moravian congregation. But it so happened, that the vessel on which they sailed had her original destination changed to Boston, where they landed, and hearing of the German settlement at Broad Bay, in the present State of Maine, they proceeded thither in a coasting vessel.

In 1732, Samuel Waldo, who was interested in a large tract of land bordering on Broad Bay, sent his son to Germany to induce emigration to his estates. To every man the promise was made, that 100 acres of land would be given and also assistance to make beginnings. By the year 1739, a few families had arrived, but the year following larger accessions were made and about the date of which this paper treats, it is estimated that near one thousand colonists were settled on the tract and in its vicinity. During the so-called "Spanish War," Waldoboro, for so the principal town of the tract

was called, was destroyed by the Indians and was not rebuilt before 1748; and during the French war, a number of the settlers were killed and others taken prisoners to Canada. Scarcely had the settlers recovered from the effects of these wars, when they were perplexed by other troubles, for what was their astonishment to find, that the greater number of the deeds they had received from Waldo gave them no title to their lands. Some purchased their lands anew, and others removed from the Province.

When Brother Hahn arrived at Broad Bay, he found a very mixed population, Scotch-Irish and Germans, the latter formerly in connection with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. A number of these requested him to read a sermon to them on Sundays, which he did, from Hartmann's Postille. Special meetings for prayer, and for expounding the scriptures, as also love-feasts were held, and some regulations which he had observed at Herrnhaag were introduced. The desire of the people to come under the care of the Moravian Church grew daily stronger, and finally a letter was written to Brother Selnheim, in Boston, requesting him that the next time a clergyman of that church came thither, he should urge him to visit them.

In 1760, the Brethren George Soelle and Samuel Herr, who were en route to New Hampshire, called on Brother Selnheim, who informed them of the Society at Broad Bay, and prevailed upon them to visit there. But finding no vessel in port bound thither, they were about to relinquish the plan, when Brother Hahn's wife arrived. A few weeks later they returned with her, reaching the settlement about the middle of August. The day following their arrival, Brother Soelle preached twice in Brother Hahn's house to good audiences, held a prayer-meeting and conversed on religious subjects with many of his

hearers until late into the night. The members of the little Society solicited the two brethren to remain and take spiritual care of them, which they, however, were unable to do, but advised them to apply to the Mission Board at Bethlehem, for a brother. This they did, but the letter fell into the hands of persons inimical to the project and it never reached its destination. From Broad Bay, Brother Soelle proceeded to Litchfield, where he passed the Winter, and Brother Herr returned to Bethlehem. In August of 1762, Brother Soelle revisited the settlement and informed the people that his church was willing to serve them with the Gospel, and he personally offered to assume spiritual charge over them. So great was their appreciation of this offer, that it was determined to begin the erection of a meeting-house at once.

Prior to Brother Soelle's arrival the services of Pastor Schaeffer, of New York, had been engaged by some of the settlers. He visited them in June and then returned home, but failed to go again before November. In the meantime seven families began to build the meeting-house, and Brother Soelle held public meetings for all who desired to attend, and also preached to the English settlers at Broad Cove. For the members of the Society collected by Brother Hahn, meetings were held in his house.

When Pastor Schaeffer returned in November and saw the progress made by Brother Soelle, he at once began to circulate scandals against the Moravian Church, and stated that it was rumored that Brother Soelle had been stoned out of Philadelphia, and that at Newport, in Rhode Island, the constable had escorted him without the precincts of the town. Of this man Brother Soelle writes: "It is true he was no wolf, but rather a wild hog, yet I visited him and he affected friendship for me, and

even tried to persuade me to become his assistant and schoolmaster. I replied, 'I came here to minister to a few who had solicited me to come.'" On the 12th of December, Brother Soelle held the first service in the new meeting-house, a log building 22 x 26 feet, selecting for his text, Ephesians 3 : 17. A love-feast followed. Christmas Day was appropriately celebrated and the last day of the year was closed with prayer. A family from Boston united with the Society, which now numbered eight families.

"The year 1763," writes Brother Soelle, "began with unrest and disquietudes. Some of the settlers objected to two clergymen in so small a community, and some said they wanted no Herrnhuter; that my hearers should join Schaeffer and contribute to his support. Brother Hahn became the target of their missiles, yet we kept on the even tenor of our way, but it was a time of trouble. The fire smouldered under the ashes all Winter and preparations were made to send me and Brother Hahn on shipboard to Boston. To this end, our enemies, in February, demanded my pass. In April, the tumult increased. On May 10th, Brother Hahn and I, under escort of thirty or forty men, were taken away and held as prisoners for a whole day, while our members waited for us in the church. In June, our members were deprived of their 'wood meadows,' but they determined to suffer all rather than yield freedom of conscience. For the balance of the year we had peace, save defamation. We again celebrated Christmas and the vigils of New Year."

From Brother Soelle's report for the year 1764, we learn that some of his persecutors "became suspicious of Schaeffer's walk and conversation, which was increased by a copy of Christopher Saur's newspaper which had been sent to the settlement containing a

notice from Schaeffer's wife, whom he had deserted.[1] In consequence of this scandal, ten families left him, and being Reformed, put themselves under the care of a Reformed school-master. Schaeffer accused Brother Hahn of circulating the newspaper, vowed vengeance, and had him arrested, because six years ago, before any clergyman visited the settlement, he had baptized children. . . . . During the Winter our meetings were well attended and some people requested me to school their children; among these, one of our bitterest enemies. Eight souls joined the congregation, and I preached for the English in the vicinity and they frequented our meetings. They are unable to fee a clergyman and are glad to have me preach. The harvest here is truly great, but the laborers are few."

The following is a list of the members of the Mission at the close of the year 1764:

Michael and Catherine Rominger. [Michael Rominger, was born in Wurtemberg, 1709; died at Friedland, N. C., 1803.]

John Philip and Catherine Vogler. [John Philip Vogler, was born in the Palatinate, 1725; died at Bethania, N. C., 1790.]

David and Catherine Rominger. [David Rominger, was born in Wurtemburg, 1716; died at Bethabara, N. C., 1777.]

[1] Rufus K. Sewall in "Ancient Dominions of Maine" writes of this man: "His moral character was clouded, his heart was selfish and destitute of virtue. A woman of great personal charms, the wife of another, was too powerful for his virtue, he seduced and eloped with her to this country, abandoning his own wife in the Fatherland. He gained wealth and fame as a physician of both soul and body. Profane, intemperate and extortionate, he can be viewed in no other light by the historian than a wolf in sheep's clothing who, recognizing his own monstrous double character, was wont to excuse and explain and apologize by saying: 'When I have my plack coat on, den I am a minister, and you must do as I say; but when I have my green coat on, den I am a toctor.'"

Matthew and Susannah Seitenberger.
Nicholas and Margaret Orph.
David and Catherine Holzapfel.
——— and Catherine Wagner.
John Michael and Elizabeth Seitz. [John Michael Seitz, was born in Wurtemburg, 1737; came to Broad Bay, 1759; died at Friedland, N. C., in 1817.]
David and Margaret Kerbel.
John George and Barbara Hahn.
Adam Schumacher.
Michael Jung (single).
Willibaldus and Justina Castner.
Peter and Elizabeth Kroehn. [Peter Kroehn was born 1722, in Eichfield, Franconia; died 1798, at Friedland, N. C.]

Of the people and their land Brother Soelle has recorded: "They are as poor as church-mice, and the land is not rich. Most of the people have been here twelve years, five of which they spent in barracks. They all have large families: they cannot plow, and if they wish to sow rye, they must use the hoe to stir up the soil. Their flour they obtain in Boston." The severe Winters also operated against them.

In May of 1767, Brother John Ettwein visited Broad Bay and informed Brother Soelle of his recall to Pennsylvania, after a service of five years in the mission. When the congregation was informed of this, a petition was drawn up and forwarded to the Conference at Bethlehem requesting that Brother Soelle be re-appointed or else a substitute be sent to them. Two months later Brother Soelle was sent to his late charge, where he arrived September 28th and was heartily welcomed. Pastor Schaeffer, having withdrawn, Soelle's labors were greatly blessed by the Lord.

During the visitation of Brother Ettwein, he had spoken to a number of the members of the mission, of the Moravian tract in North Carolina, of its genial climate and its fertile soil, and on Brother Soelle's return he found a large number of them bent on removing thither. Not knowing what to advise, he suggested to Brother Hahn to correspond with Brother Ettwein on the subject. "We have not forgotten," he wrote," "your last visit and what you related about North Carolina. We came to the thought to go there. . . . . Our children are going to ruin; we want to live near a congregation of Brethren. Dear Brother Ettwein, do provide for us! Write as soon as you can, and tell us how we can get to Bethabara." At the same time Brother Soelle also wrote: "Our people are determined on going to North Carolina. The migration will be difficult, as they are all large families; yet it will be for their good. So poor are they that the children wear only *shirts*. Foolishly enough they have published their purpose and now others wish to emigrate too." In April of 1768, Brother Soelle wrote to Bishop Nathaniel Seidel: "The people are still determined to go to North Carolina, and have been so since my arrival in September last;" and in August following he wrote from Newport, R. I., to Brother Ettwein: "As to the emigration, the following five families have determined to set out this Fall, say in November, for Wilmington: Schumacher, and five children; Seitz, and three children; Hahn, and one adopted daughter; David Rominger and wife, (his children are grown); and Kroehn, and three children." It was not until August 26, 1769, however, that this colony left Broad Bay for Boston, from whence they set sail for Wilmington. Within a short distance of that port the vessel was wrecked, but the passengers and crew were saved. After a tedious journey they reached the Wa-

chovia tract, and their arrival being entirely unexpected, they were kindly taken care of in Salem and Bethabara.

The remaining five families of the Broad Bay mission, also determined to follow their brethren, and under date of 5 September, 1770, Brother Soelle (who was to accompany them), wrote to Brother Ettwein; "The schooner on which we are to sail, lies in the bay." On December 5th, Brother Soelle wrote from North Carolina to Bishop Seidel: "After a journey of nine weeks we reached Salem on 6 November. The voyage to Wilmington, which occupied fifteen days was a perilous one. At Cross Creek [now Fayetteville] a woman of our company died, [of yellow fever] leaving seven children. Here we laid over three weeks and I preached on three Sundays. When within six miles of Salem, we met the first brethren, who inquired how I got there, to whom I replied, 'the wind brought us!' Our mission at Broad Bay is virtually at an end."[2] The brethren of this colony were:

Jacob Ried, Michael Rominger, Mechoir Schneider, John Philip Vogler and —— ——.

The Broad Bay colonists, not wishing to remain at Salem, resolved to commence a settlement of their own. A tract in the south-eastern section of the Wachovia purchase was selected, where nine lots of two hundred acres each were sold to them, thirty acres in the centre being reserved for a church site and school purposes. In 1771, nine houses had been erected and occupied and the settlement received the name of Friedland *i. e.*, Land of Peace. The corner stone of the first church was laid in February of 1772, but it was not consecrated until 18 February 1775, when Brother Trycho Nissen was installed pastor. During the visitation of Brother John

[2] The last survivor of this colony was Elizabeih Hein m. n. Vogler, who died near Friedland, 7 April, 1855, at the advanced age of 85 years.]

Frederick Reichel, of the Unity's Elders' Conference, in September of 1780, the congregation was admitted as a regular congregation of the Moravian Church in North Carolina.

Such is briefly the history of the only Moravian mission organized in the State of Maine and of the transference of its members to the Wachovia tract in North Carolina, but before concluding my paper, some notice is due of the brother who faithfully ministered unto them in spiritual matters in the face of much jealous opposition and personal vilification.

George Soelle, prior to his uniting with the Moravian Church in Germany, had been ordained to the Ministry 3rd September, 1741, at Rippen, in Schleswig, by the Danish Lutheran Bishop Hans Adolph Brodersen. In September of 1753, he arrived at New York on the Moravian transport *Irene*, on which came the colony in charge of Brother Gottlieb Koenigsdoerfer. Among his companions were Dr. Martin Kalberlahn; George W. Golkowfsky, [the Moravian surveyor]; George Christian Fabricius, [the Lector, who was murdered] and Peter Worbas, [who escaped at the massacre at Gnadenhütten, on the Mahoning]; Jacob Fries, Otto C. Krogstrup and A. L. Russmeyer, who became eminent in the Church as clergymen and educators. Shortly after Brother Soelle's arrival in Bethlehem, he was engaged in the Boys' School, and also prepared for the press the "Sarons Büchlein," [edition of 1754.] Between 1753 and 1760, in addition to assisting Brother Moeller at Oley and a brief service in the Philadelphia congregation, he itinerated through the counties of Berks, Lebanon and Lancaster, and was particularly regarded, not only as a trustworthy but a competent brother to preach in English "ambulatorie" (as an itinerant preacher) to the spiritually unsettled population of the district, who

were more or less misinformed and prejudiced, to set their minds right with regard to the Moravian Church. It has been already stated, that it was during a tour in New England, that he became acquainted with the brethren at Broad Bay. When Brother Soelle arrived at Salem, in Wachovia, he entered the Single Brethren's House and was entrusted for a time with the spiritual oversight of its inmates. He also aided in the founding of the Friedland congregation and subsequently devoted himself to itinerant work, in English and German, being much sought after by the people. His circuit covered a radius of fifty miles in all directions from Salem, and extended into Virginia. He died at Salem, 4th May, 1773, having returned sick from one of his tours, and his funeral was attended by a large concourse of people from the surrounding country. He was never married.

HISTORICAL MISCELLANY.

BY JAMES HENRY.

(Edited by the Publication Committee.)

Moravian Manuscript Literature.

Events at Nazareth in the Year 1800.

The Nazareth Cemeteries.

Memoir of Christian Gottlieb Hüffel.

MORAVIAN MANUSCRIPT LITERATURE.

During an earlier period of Moravian church-life, a great deal of time and attention was paid to writing.

All the transactions of the Church were faithfully placed on record, and this has resulted in transmitting to posterity a really voluminous MS. literature.

In each of the congregations the Pastor kept a diary of every day's transactions; small events, indeed, many of them were, and little adapted for the material of history, yet a faithful record of church observances, rites and ceremonies, was regarded as an obligation of the incumbent of the village pulpit.

In this country these diaries date back as far as the year 1741. They have been continued in the most of our American congregations up to the present day, and in scanning these venerable journals, we travel through some interesting scenes, bringing to light much that is pleasing and salutary in the history of the Moravian people.

In our principal congregations duplicate copies of the diaries of other congregations were preserved, so that we find in their archives not only their own record of past events, but copies of the manuscript journals of sister villages, as well as those of various Indian mission places.

In these archives we find the Protocols of all the councils held by the village congregations, such as the proceedings of that venerable body called the "Elders' Conference," the "Gemein Rath," or "Town Council,"

the "Aufseher Collegium," or "Warden's College," and the "Helper's Conference."

The records of the proceedings of these different bodies were preserved where the various councils convened, and may now be found in the congregation libraries.

To attain a more perfect idea of the immense activity in writing and the astonishing industry bestowed in the constant effort to perpetuate the remembrance of past labors and events, we have but to consult the vast manuscript depository of the Bethlehem Archives.

We shall there find eight cases, mostly provided with eleven shelves, all crowded with pamphlets, documents and letters, bearing witness to the events and actions of the Brethren for more than a century and a half. In these we find the "Hütten Diarium," embracing a series of volumes extending in yearly numbers from 1747 to 1755. The "Jünger Haus Diarium" from 1756 to 1760, followed by supplements to 1789. The diary of the "Disciple House" was classed among the favorite readings of the so-called "Viertel Stunden," or "Quarter Hour Meetings."

The "Gemein Nachrichten," or reports from our Church all over the world, came in with the other literature from Europe, and the volumes of these records constitute quite a large accumulation.[1]

The original copies of this country are found in Bethlehem, and they reach from 1765 to 1844. Copies are found in other congregations, where they were read in church as they came in from abroad, and duplicate copies

[1] The "Gemein Nachrichten," which began to appear under this title in 1765, and are yet regularly issued, constitute a continuation of the "Jünger HausDiarium" which from the death of Zinzendorf (the Jünger), in 1760, to 1765 was called "Gemein Haus Diarium." They were sent out in manuscript until the close of 1818, after which they were printed.—COMMITTEE.

taken for preservation and reference. Here we find the Proceedings and Results of all the Synods held in Pennsylvania from 1742 to 1768.[2]

The diary literature is almost unlimited. All the Indian congregations furnished their diaries. All the journeys by land into the interior, as well as all transatlantic voyages, have been recorded in copious journals, likewise all the visitations to posts of evangelical labor and all the "Pilger Reisen," or pilgrim wanderings. Among the primitive annals of the Church there was also a "Kinder Diarium," (Diary of the Children), besides the Diaries of the Brethren's Houses, of the Sisters' Houses and of the Congregation as a whole; along with all these many an individual's private diary is preserved in the collection. The "Heiden Reisen" (Heathen Journeys), *i. e.* journeys among the Indians, form a record that extends from the year 1743 to 1789.[3] In these pamphlets much information is incorporated, illustrative of Indian life, customs, character and language.

The results of all European Synods of the Church are placed upon the shelves of the Bethlehem Archives. The mass of original letters, directed from all quarters to the Conference at Bethlehem during the space of more than a century and a half and then preserved, is very great.

The weekly and, subsequently, monthly reports of the Unity's Directory (the U. E. C.) extend from 1764 to

[2] In 1768 the first Synod preparatory to a General Synod was held in America. This was also the last such gathering for eighty-one years which was called a Provincial Synod. The ten convocations of the interval from 1768 to 1849, when the next Synod took place, were called Conferences. The governmental policy pursued during this long period between the decay of the Home Mission Work carried on before the Revolution and the beginning of Modern Home Missions arrested the growth of the Church in this country and dwarfed it.—COMMITTEE.

[3] That is, under this title. The records of many journeys in the Indian country after 1789 are preserved.—COMMITTEE.

the present time. The records of all the various trades, stores and farms of the Brethren have all been deposited in the Bethlehem Archives; and the Journal of the General Administration at Bethlehem runs from 1771 to 1851. Plans, maps, charts, and diagrams add to the value of this collection.

The list of miscellaneous papers is very long, and we find a large amount of writing in the English language. All the transactions with the various Indian congregations have been carefully preserved and they are recorded in the German and occasionally in the English language.

The "Gemein Nachrichten" are valuable for the knowledge they furnish in regard to all the congregations, both European and American and all the Missionary Stations, and for the Autobiographies, Sermons, and Addresses, or "Gemeinstunden" by some of the most noted and favorite pastors of the European churches, which they contain.

A monument of patient endurance, on the part of the copyist, may be found in Bishop Cammerhof's correspondence with Zinzendorf, transcribed for the use of the American Church and deposited in the Bethlehem Archives. These letters were written during a period when extreme simplicity of thought descended into the domain of puerility; yet even that puerility has a redeeming value and occasional beauty, in those exuberant sentiments of social love and friendship that are ever gushing forth. The correspondence in question was stretched out to nearly a score of letters, each of which forms a volume in itself, of some 200 to 300 pages.

Zeisberger's diary, the original copy of which is owned by the Ohio Historical Society, although the larger portion of its contents may be found in the Bethlehem Archives, is another of our important MSS. It contains

within itself much important material for the historian on Indian life.[4]

We may add to this list of valuable MSS. Bishop Ettwein's historical sketch of the American Revolution, in which he defines the attitude of the Brethren towards the newly formed government, and justifies certain conduct and expressed sentiments on their part which have never had their full explanation or defense.

We may readily imagine that all these records and their transcription gave employment to a number of scribes, and to such a degree was this practice carried that the office of amanuensis was deemed indispensable.

In wandering through these long annals of a century and a half of time, we shall find our reward in much knowledge that is both interesting and applicable to church history. Our tedious researches suggest many thoughts on the earlier times of the Moravian Brethren.

The reports from the various Missionary Stations lead to a true acquaintance with the extent of their labors, sufferings and endurance, whether the field may have been at the Cape of Good Hope, on the plantations or in the swamps of torrid Surinam, the flowery gardens of the West Indies, the frigid realms of Russia or Greenland, or among the Indians of North America.

In the "Gemein Stunden" we have the best opportunity of studying the early homiletic style of the Brethren, and we cannot but appreciate the beauty of that peculiar tone of thought that inspired and animated an ancient Christian family, amid the joys and adversities of its long career.

But of all written narrative, discourse, and general thought that has been handed down to us, there is per-

[4] A translation into English of Zeisberger's Diary, by Eugene F. Bliss, was published, in two volumes of 464 and 535 pages respectively, in 1885, by Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, for the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.—COMMITTEE.

haps nothing that assumes as interesting a form as the "Lebenslauf," or autobiography. Our departed fathers accounted it one of the duties they owed to their survivors to take note of and preserve in writing the most prominent events of their lives ;—the day of their birth, their birth-place, their growth to manhood and womanhood, their growth in grace and their admission to the membership of the church at Herrnhut or elsewhere. These autobiographies are very numerous, and many of the most eventful lives are found in the "Nachrichten" of the years intervening between 1770 and 1800. It was during those years of the last century that most of our remarkable Brethren and Sisters terminated their earthly career. We find nearly all of them the authors of their own memoirs, which were usually contained in their own words until mind and body began to decay and the pen could no longer do its work. While some have been sparing of the facts and incidents of a past life, others have handed over to us copious details of a long and eventful career, frequently reaching that golden maturity of the dweller on earth—fourscore.

The brethren usually present the vicissitudes of the whole outer life—the duties, the bodily risks and escapes by land and sea, with occasional glimpses into their inner life. These narrations present the true type of the missionary hero, who endured all things for the sake of his heavenly Master. The sisters' autobiographies, on the other hand, often display the finest analysis of character, the most searching examination of self, the whole history of what was known as the "Herzensgang." In all the biographies received from Herrnhut these heart-confessions, this mirror of the soul that is framed in them, constitute the most meritorious portion of self-biography, and from the written lives of many of our sainted brethren and sisters of Lusatia, material has been taken

by German writers for ideal types of a perfect manhood and womanhood.

In these disclosures regarding self a pensive tone may often be observed to characterize the thoughts of those who wandered through the mists of uncertainty, doubt and fear. Despondency, misgiving, yet not despair, were the early symptoms of a renewal of spiritual life; but at "Herrnhut" all seemed to find the goal of their travels, in search of a foretaste of a heaven on earth. All these writers represent the same difficulties that were placed before them, as they sought entrance at the portals of this noted dwelling-place of the Brethren, as members and partakers of all the privileges of a full communion with the congregation there.[5]

Of all the numerous autobiographies I have found recorded in our "Gemein Nachrichten," none has struck me as being so complete in its narration, or as perfect in its delineations, as that of Henrietta Sophia von Miltiz, who informs us she was the daughter of a Saxon nobleman, who enjoyed a high position at Court, and that she was born at Wetzlar in 1728. In her autobiography she gives us diffuse details of the history of her girlhood—the struggles between the ambition of intellect and the yearnings of her inner being, and finally the conquest of the soul's desires over the fascinations of that elegant learning in which she had largely and fondly indulged. She was a woman of great mental capacity, and, as such, she confesses her total incapacity to comprehend the doctrines she found in the Holy Scriptures. Hence she

[5] The political and ecclesiastical situation at the time compelled the Brethren to exercise great caution in encouraging emigration from Bohemia and Moravia into Saxony, and in gathering congregations within the pale of an established State Church. Besides this, they subjected all applicants to a long probation in order to prevent, as far as possible, the influx of unworthy persons and the consequent defeat of the object they had in view. —COMMITTEE.

abandoned their study and turned for a time to desultory literature, poetry and fiction. Her nature was such, however, that she found the need of a soul's sustenance, or what Zinzendorf in one of his noted lyrics terms "die Herzensweide." Having arrived at this stage of emotional development, and raised the curtain of Moravian thought, to which she had been attracted by reading the works of the Brethren, through an inevitable course of circumstances she at length found her way to Herrnhut. Here she became an assiduous student of the Brethren's history, a welcome and willing disciple of its best teachers, and finally a member of the congregation. Her narrative, couched in her own words, is highly engaging and instructive. Her self-portrayals are full and complete, and I would recommend her "Lebenslauf" to the perusal of those who are in search of the portraits of beautiful souls. The eulogium with which the pastor of Herrnhut consecrates her memory is singularly chaste and impressive, when he says: "To this candid testimony, given in such long detail by our departed sister, of the operation of divine grace upon her heart, we may add: Praised be the Lord for the great work He hath wrought in having taken delight in her, inasmuch as He chose her from among the noble and the wise, drew her within His own shepherd's fold, and then adorning her with His blood and righteousness, received her a perfected sinner into the realms of eternal bliss. She was an original being, gifted with great powers of the understanding, and endowed with many remarkable qualities. Her character was firm and steadfast, and this enabled her to retain all acquired knowledge with tenacity. She was possessed of a mind keen and searching, ready to investigate every subject and penetrate its lowest depths. Did she engage occasionally in warm discussion, her ardent and excitable temperament would lead her astray, but this she always

deplored, and tears of sorrow accompanied the acknowlment of her indiscretion. To her friends and all who enjoyed her companionship she was endeared by the upright and candid bearing that distinguished all her words and deeds. Amiability and cheerfulness gave a tone to her conversation, and her heart could be so joyous, that you felt both delighted and instructed while in her presence."

We have no time to pursue the extract further.

The personalia of some of our Brethren were spun out in minute detail, to such length that for public reading, the pastor was constrained to furnish but an abstract of what had been recorded by them.

The "Lebenslauf" of our day has become too concise. I think the style of thought, the heart's history, narrating its quiet revelations that distinguished the early autobiographies, should still characterize our own memoirs of the departed.

As an illustration of the literature our Church possesses, the "Lebenslauf" is worthy of our study. It elucidates much of our past history, while it holds up in pleasing remembrance before us the sainted dead and their life's progress from uncertain knowledge, fickle faith, wavering doubt and longing aspirations to the assured possession of spiritual joy and repose in the Saviour's forgiveness and love.

The Archives of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, have been enriched by the addition of the liberal donation of the late W. G. Malin. The works comprised in this collection have reference to the history of Moravianism from its earliest period, and also embrace all the literature of a sacred nature admitted into the general discipline of the Church.

In the compilation of his preface to a complete catalogue of the library he has so generously presented to us, he remarks :

"The collection of these volumes was prompted by a sentiment of filial regard for a Church of which my parents were members, and in which my earliest religious impressions were received."

In the display we make of these works to the gaze of the living world of Moravians, we but imitate the example set us in the arrangement of the Archives of Herrnhut, where, in a room specially devoted to the purpose, we find exhibited all the writings that appeared during the space of 150 years, both in favor of, and inimical to, the cause of the Brethren.

The works donated to our Archives are securely preserved in four book-cases, and the total number of works, both in bound and pamphlet form, is 1354, and treat of the following subjects:

I. History, Topography, and Literature of Bohemia and Moravia, dating from as early as A. D. 1475, numbering 102 works.

II. Reformers and Martyrs before the Reformation of Luther, and especially John Hus and Jerome of Prague; their Works, Biographies and Controversies regarding them. 161 Works.

III. Church Councils, particularly those of Pisa, Constance and Basle. 46 Works.

IV. Zisca and the War of the Hussites. 41 Works.

V. The Ancient Church of the Brethren, its History, Doctrine and Discipline.

a. Bibles. 6 Works.

b. Confession of Faith and System of Church order. 25 Works.

c. Hymnology of the Brethren. 5 Works.

d. The Episcopacy. 69 Works.

VI. The Anti-Reformation, or Persecution of the Brethren by Ferdinand the Second of Austria and Events leading thereto. 34 Works.

VII. The Link between the Ancient and Modern Churches of the United Brethren formed by the Lives and Labors of the Bishops Comenius and Jablonsky (his grandson). 52 Works.

VIII. The Life and Writings of Count Zinzendorf. 120 Works.

IX. Opponents and Detractors of Zinzendorf and the Brethren, with Occasional Replies to them. 163 Works.

X. The Renewed Church of the Brethren, its History, Missions, Doctrines, Discipline, etc. 285 Works.

Missions. 22 Works.

Periodicals. 16.

Synods. 14.

Hymns. 59.

XI. Protestant Exodus from Salzburg in 1731–2. 20 Works.

XII. Books not necessarily connected with the Brethren's History:

Biblical Literature. 22 Works.

Devotional. 9 Works.

Ecclesiastical History and Controversy. 52 Works.

History, Biography etc. 30.

MS. Catalogue of the Moravian Library Collected by the late Daniel Benham, Esq., of London, England. 1 Work.

I am indebted to Prof. H. A. Jacobson for information in regard to the Malin Library.

EVENTS AT NAZARETH IN THE YEAR 1800.

The placid and retired life, peculiar to the Moravian hamlet, was not without admirers, and among its visitors whose minds and feelings responded to a calm and genial state of society, some distinguished personages have been recorded.

Small and isolated as the little village was, during the close of the last and beginning of the present century, a stray traveler was not an unfrequent guest.

Before the time we are now dwelling upon, Lord Montague, the Governor of South Carolina, accompanied by his lady, came and spent the night at the Rose Inn; at another time, the Governor of the Province with his suite sojourned here, upon a hunting expedition in the Blue Mountains. During the War of Independence, Baron de Kalb made a special detour in order to reach Nazareth, and his impressions of this visit have been read to the Moravian Historical Society, from a MS. translated from the French language.

Another instance of the strong attraction these quiet homes presented is offered us in the circumstance of Timothy Pickering's desire to become a resident of Nazareth. This event occurred in the year 1800.

Col. Pickering was one of the most eminent and patriotic statesmen of that day. He was born in Massachusetts, in 1745, and at an early age was promoted to various useful offices in that State, previous to the American Revolution. After having served in the army under General Washington, and passed through long cam-

paigns, he was chosen Secretary of State, in the year 1795, and, at the close of that year, was transferred to the office of Secretary of War, in which he remained until the event we are recording took place.

A tract of land in the Wyoming Valley had come into his possession after his retirement from office, and he found it expedient to remove thither with the view of improving it, and making his personal residence in that region of Pennsylvania.

While preparations were being made for his future withdrawal from public life, he chose this little Moravian village as a place of temporary seclusion. After his arrival at Bethlehem, he was escorted to Nazareth by the Brethren John Ettwein and William Henry, and his proposition to be entered as a denizen of the place together with his family, was duly laid before the Elders' Conference. He desired his three sons to enter Nazareth Hall, and pass through the system of training and education pursued in the schools of the Church.

He had fixed upon two years as the time of his stay in Nazareth, and he selected as his temporary home, in the event of a favorable reception, the house occupied by the widow Dealing, which stood next but one to the Brethren's House. This house is a permanent stone mansion, and is now more than a century old. Its structure conforms to the general style of building of those days, being of massive blue limestone, and it strikes you it might be able to battle with the elements for centuries. As an antiquarian, I regret that its present proprietor has been induced by the influences of the day and the ruling love of innovation, to modify his front door, which was one of those double- or hatch-doors, of the Elizabethan period, occasionally commemorated by Shakespeare and other writers—and in place of this ancient and classical door, he now prides himself in having a

front entrance in conformity with that of all the men of modern times. But if that precious old door is gone, (and scores of other hatch-doors in Nazareth and our other villages throughout the land have shared the same fate,) that remarkable house, remarkable because selected as the abiding place of such an eminent man, stands there intact in other respects, and long may it remain undisturbed by the hand of the modern architect. The Elders' Conference took the matter in hand and deliberated on it. It was long before the age of photography that the transaction took place, otherwise there would have been a possibility of transmitting to posterity the interesting picture of the little but august Elders' Conference of Nazareth weighing and reasoning upon the important matter of receiving a great retired statesman into the midst of their exclusive and primitive family, and granting a request for entrance that was made with all due humility. But the difficulties of admitting a stranger of his celebrity and of alien creed, the possible influences his and his family's presence might entail, influences from which the Moravians of that day endeavored to keep aloof, swayed their minds in favor of a general opposition to the proposal placed before them and the question was finally decided in the negative. Col. Pickering, on being informed of this decision, and of the reasons given for it by the body of Elders, expressed his entire acquiescence, and he evinced no displeasure in being refused admittance into Nazareth. He seemed to fully comprehend the motives the Brethren gave in laying restrictions upon the entrance of strangers into the place, and he withdrew his request with the best of feelings towards the good people, whose wide-spread reputation had attracted his notice and esteem.

THE NAZARETH CEMETERIES.

The first burial place at Nazareth was called the "Hutberg," and, occasionally, "The Hill of Rest." It was situated on the summit of the woody hill that rises up beyond the present Cemetery, so that funeral processions had to walk a great distance in order to reach it. The draft of the plan of the primitive burial ground has been preserved and gives the names and dates of interment of a portion of the first congregation, then occupying the few solitary dwellings constituting Old Nazareth, or Ephrata. The total number borne to the Hutberg was 66, but the places appointed for them have been only partially transmitted to us. The tablets, for the most part, were in crumbling condition, and small fragments of them have been deposited in the room of our Society, but far the greater number of them have been wasted away, and left no record behind them.

The first burial made on the Hutberg was that of George Kremser.

All the interments from the several nearest settlements took place here and the fear of the savages during the Indian war occasionally demanded an armed escort for the processions. Much additional interest attaches itself to the Hutberg from the fact that the remains of some of the earliest Moravian emigrants and particularly of the primitive Zauchtenthal refugees repose here.

Christopher Demuth sleeps on the "Hill of Rest," since 1754. He was born in 1689, was a Roman Catholic, and joined the Brethren at the time of the formation

of Herrnhut. He was one of the early Moravian families, and came over with the Sea Congregation of 120 souls, in 1743.

John Münster, another of the early Moravian exiles, reposes here. He was born in the year 1700, and was one of the number who fled from Zauchtenthal. He also came over with the second Sea Congregation, and, at the conclusion of an active life in the Brethren's service, settled in Friedensthal, where he was appointed Haus Liturgus (House Chaplain), and, in the words of the record left us, he ended his days in that peaceful state that resembles the last flickerings of the taper.

Elizabeth Payne, another occupant of the Hutberg, was born in England, in 1669. She crossed the ocean in the *Little Strength*, at the age of 74 years, and was the oldest member of the American Brethren's Church. While at Bethlehem, she devoted herself to the pilgrims who came in from all directions, and, on her removal to Nazareth, she occupied the place assigned her in the Widows' House and was the first widow who died there. She expired in her 87th year. After the new graveyard had been designed, the ancient "Hutberg" lay in a neglected condition until 1867, when measures were taken to resuscitate it, and perpetuate its remembrance.

A marble cenotaph has been erected in the center of the burial-ground, recording the names of the 66 persons interred there, while, in another portion of the inclosure, a neat little pavilion serves as a resting-place for pilgrims to the venerable spot and at the same time, as an observatory overlooking the surrounding country. Here a landscape opens to the eye that is unsurpassed for its beauty and magnificence.

The present cemetery was confined to a few square rods, in its original design, protected by a rude fence, and the first burial took place on the 14th day of Feb-

ruary, 1756, contemporary with the completion of the Hall. On that day, the Brethren of Nazareth, Bethlehem, Gnadenthal and all the other villages assembled to attend the interment of Peter Lehnert, whose remains were brought over from Gnadenthal and placed before the Hall. The trombone choir, which had come from Bethlehem for the purpose, sounded its solemn strains, while the Brethren formed a circle around the corpse, and the hymn was sung:

Know'st thou who the firstling is
Of those who here are sleeping?

The whole body then moved forward, the Bethlehem school boys and musicians leading the way, while the congregation followed in the usual order.

During their progress to the graveyard, the Choir played and sang, alternately. On arriving at the grave, all the choirs stood in wonted order, and Brother "Joseph" [Augustus Gottlieb] Spangenberg performed the funeral service, which was followed by the Dedication, concluded by the following impressive prayer: "Dearest Saviour! Who by Thy rest in the grave hast consecrated the earth, to Thee shall this ground be consecrated and rendered holy! Let Thy eyes fall upon this place, let Thy peace rest upon it, so that no spirit of fear or evil may ever come near it. Let Thy holy angels keep watch over it, and, when we make our pilgrimage to this spot, may we feel within our hearts Thy presence and Thy blessing."

In due time, this rude and humble burial-ground was extended and a suitable fence was provided for it. For a long time, however, and far into the present century, the aspect of the sacred place was dreary and uninviting to the visitor. The entrance itself with its inscription over the gate-way, "Weil ich lebe, sollt ihr auch leben," indicated in solemn words the destiny and hope

of those who entered it for the last time, and the wearisome ascent past the Hall Garden, was no less typical of man's toil in reaching his final resting place on earth.

As a small tribute to the memory of one of Nazareth's aged citizens, I will here remark, that, in his latter days, the late John Beitel sought pleasure in planting evergreens within the precincts of the new God's Acre. A portion of the old Diacony farm of Nazareth allotted to the cemetery in 1855, in view of its future extension, has been propitious to the culture of the evergreen and a most luxurious growth has been the result.

From what has been stated, it would appear that the cemetery now in use has existed 135 years, and during all this time no encroachment has been made upon the form and simplicity of the Moravian tablet, with its unpretentious record of those who repose beneath the sod, and it is to be hoped that this style of entombment will never change.

MEMOIR OF CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB HÜFFEL,

EPISCOPUS FRATRUM.

We have but little autobiographical material left us by Christian Gottlieb Hüffel, Bishop of the Moravian Church, and the few incidents he has given us were written in the Latin language at the time of his departure from the Pædagogium, and relate chiefly to the period of his boyhood.

In this Journal of his earlier years, he informs us that he was born on September 13, 1762, in Kleinwelke, where his father was stationed at that time as Pastor. In 1704, his parents were called to Stettin, but in consequence of their removal, ten months later, to Russia, they were under the necessity of sending the little boy, not quite three years old, to the infant school at Herrnhut, and in conformity with the customs of the Brethren of that day, to commit him to the paternal charge of strangers. He states that in this new home he lived contented and happy for ten years, remaining some seven years in Herrnhut, and afterwards accompanying the school to Niesky. He states that he was possessed of the ready gift of learning, but like many youth of quick perception, he neglected his opportunities of making those further advances in knowledge which he admits he should have made under the favorable auspices beneath which he was placed. After recovering from an attack of small-pox in 1774, he was removed to the Pædagogium in the year 1775. Here, under the kind

attention he received from Brother Zembsch, the Principal, he made considerable progress in his studies, but he again expresses regret for the further neglect of golden opportunities.

On April 17, 1775, he was admitted into the congregation, and the following year, on July 20, he partook the first time of the Holy Communion. After giving full expression to the emotions that arose within his heart during this solemn event, he concludes the humble memoir he has handed down to us, and leaves the thread of his life's history to be taken up by the Church biographer. Subsequently, he kept a Journal, passages from which are occasionally made available in the Obituary, in which he shows us how, by degrees, he entered into the more serious purposes of his future life. After his exit from the Pædagogium, he pursued a three and a half years' course of theological study at Barby.

In 1784, he received an appointment as teacher in the school at Niesky. Here his career as tutor was singularly successful and left all those impressions of love and affection behind it which a devoted instructor never fails to secure. On Brother Hüffel's high qualities as teacher the biographer delivers an eloquent eulogium, and he shows at the same time how the preceptor and his pupils profited by the familiar intercourse of leisure hours between scholars, in building up that mutual attachment and esteem for each other which results from school-day life. The endearment between his young pupils and himself became so warmly fixed, that when, on his advancement to the Pædagogium, the separation took place, it proved a day of profound sorrow.

The Pædagogium was removed in 1789 from Niesky to Barby, and here the assiduous teacher made his entrance into the pursuits of Natural Science to which he

was devoted during his whole subsequent life, by assuming the care of the Cabinet of Natural Sciences then kept at Barby.[6]

His term of service as teacher lasted seven years and closed with the warmest testimony from all around him. At this time he was called to the position of assistant preacher in Dublin, Ireland, and on his journey through England he was ordained a Deacon by Bishop Traneker.

During Brother Hüffel's six and a half years' residence in Ireland he had favorable opportunities of cultivating a large acquaintance and gaining a choice circle of friends, many of whom he found during his pastoral visits to the West of Ireland, in the County of Clare, where the Brethren had formed a Society.

After his labors in Ireland had ended he was chosen Secretary to the Unity's Elders' Conference. His departure from Ireland, however, nearly proved fatally disastrous, for, in making a misstep from the vessel in the harbor, he plunged into the sea, but he was enabled by his own exertions to keep above water long enough to receive timely aid.

March 31, 1798, he arrived in Herrnhut, and after having been married to Sarah Elizabeth Hunzigker, in Gnadenfeld, he took up his quarters in Berthelsdorf, and assumed his duties as Secretary, or writer, for the œconomic department of the Conferential Board.

[6] At that period strenuous efforts were made by the leading educators of the Church to divert the attention of students from fruitless metaphysical speculation to the study of Natural Sciences, under the conviction that this would not only yield more tangible profit and pleasure but would harmonize more fully with the teaching and practice of "simplicity in Christ." With that interesting and critical period in the history of the College and Theological Seminary of the Moravian Church are associated, on the one hand, the names of men like the great Schleiermacher and Fries, who forsook the communion of the Church and, on the other hand, those of Bossart. Scholler and von Albertini who remained in it, less widely known but no less great in ability, character and attainments.—COMMITTEE.

In 1801, he was ordained Presbyter by Bishop Christian Gregor.

In the following year, he received a call as preacher and Principal of the Theological Seminary and Children's School at Niesky, and here devoted two hours daily to giving lectures in the Seminary. In 1805, he was summoned to Barby as preacher, and soon after the office of Principal of the Pædagogium was assigned him.

He was chosen a member of the Unity's Elders' Conference in 1809, and removed to Berthelsdorf August 29 of that year. His consecration as Bishop of the Brethren's Church, by Bishop Cunow, took place August 14, 1814. Not receiving a re-election to the Unity's Elders' Conference in 1818, he was appointed President of the Provincial Board in America, and in consequence of this appointment embarked with his family for this country, and arrived at Bethlehem December 11 of that year. His stay in America was of eight years' duration, and he engaged in useful labors in visiting most of the congregations. Sister Hüffel died December 29, 1824, and he remained a widower until 1827.

He had been once more chosen member of the Unity's Elders' Conference at Berthelsdorf, and in this capacity as a representative of the Mission Department of that Board, he was authorizd to visit the West India Mission-stations, and entered on the laborious work by embarking on the ocean in March, 1827, and making the usual rounds of the Danish Islands, as well as St. Kitts, Antigua and Barbadoes. He returned from his West Indian travels through England, and arrived November 7, in Berthelsdorf. On the 18th of that month he was married to Sister Maria Wilhelmina Bechler, of Herrnhut. In this second term of service as a member of the Unity's Board, he labored faithfully for nine years. At the Synod of 1836, Bro. Hüffel resigned, as active laborer

in the Brethren's service, and he looked forward to a season of quiet rest in the calm abode at Herrnhut. Here, in the decline of life, he could pass in review the many years of an eventful and varied career, fifty-two years of which had been spent in the active service of the Brethren's Church.

His dissolution took place here in this last retreat, June 7, 1842, at the advanced age of 79 years, 8 months and 25 days.

As a subject of biography, Bishop Hüffel is worthy to occupy one of the niches appropriated to the most noted men among the Brethren, as well on account of his intellectual and personal merits, as by reason of his long and arduous services in the Church. He was gifted with rare musical abilities, and during the years which he spent in Europe, added many valuable arrangements to the repertoire of church-music. He discoursed his beautiful thoughts on the organ, piano and violoncello, and is said to have particularly excelled on the last named instrument. At the time of his residence in Bethlehem, a good tone of musical culture, and consequently a proper appreciation of the old masters, prevailed there. Bro. Hüffel's aid in performing on the various instruments, in the use of which he was a virtuoso, received merited recognition. His appearance in the musical group among men of more showy presence and portly manners, was certainly unfavorable to his debut, for his figure was homely in the extreme and might have repulsed many who judge men only by exterior beauty and a prepossessing form. His voice was somewhat harsh and devoid of melody, and it would have been difficult to determine, at first, where the intellectual gold of such a man lay concealed. In addition to his great philological acquirements, for he is supposed to have been versed in the three great oriental languages,

Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac, he appeared among us with a thorough knowledge of the Natural Sciences, of which Botany seems to have been his favorite branch; and he delighted to stroll amid the woods and thickets in the environs of Nazareth and Bethlehem, gathering wild flowers and determining their names.

In these pursuits of Flora, Lewis D. von Schweinitz was his congenial associate, and two such ardent scientists could not fail to find Nature a realm of perpetual fascination.

His exclamations when strolling about the precincts of Nazareth which my memory enables me to recall, were those of an enthusiast. He was engaging in conversation, and fond of describing, in an animated way, the scenes of Irish life with which he had become familiar, during his years of service in that land.

Viewing him as a whole and taking into account his great moral and intellectual worth as well as the labors he performed during his fifty-two years of service, of which a sketch has just been presented, we may regard Christian Gottlieb Hüffel as an eminent type of that elder race of Moravian Brethren of whom our Church has reason to be proud.

FRAGMENTS

FROM THE

Papers of Bishop John Ettwein.

(Edited by the Publication Committee.)

First Collection.

Miscellaneous Correspondence and Scraps of History.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE interesting personality of Bishop Ettwein and the inestimable service which he rendered the Moravian Church from the time of his arrival in America in 1754 to his death in 1802 would alone warrant the publication of most of these fragments supplementary to the biography of him contained in Volume II. of the Transactions. They reveal his wide and varied acquaintance, his multifarious relations and activities, his capacity to handle the greatest variety of affairs and to deal with the most divergent classes and dispositions, opinions and prejudices, his combination of integrity and finesse, simplicity and astuteness, his constant readiness to be of service to all men in things momentous or trivial, his untiring devotion to the work of the Church, and his unostentatious piety.

But besides this, the correspondence, even that which treats of comparatively unimportant matters, leads into attractive little bypaths of local and general history, introduces many interesting public characters as visitors to Bethlehem and Nazareth and warm friends of the Church at a time when it was so generally misunderstood, shows the position taken by its leaders towards various religious and political movements and reveals the estimation in which the ecclesiastical, educational, industrial and social features of the Brethren's settlements, especially the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth were held by intelligent, representative Americans a century ago.

The correspondence with Henry Laurens, together with cognate matter, and several other more lengthy and important historical papers must be reserved for future publication as a second collection. The matter herewith presented has been put into print without any change in spelling, capitalization or construction of sentences; so that the letters of men of a hundred years ago may be read exactly as they wrote them. A classification of the letters or an arrangement in chronological order being impracticable, they are given in the alphabetical order of the names of the correspondents or of the topics, without regard to the contents.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. DAVID AUSTIN ON A PROPOSED CONCERT OF PRAYER. A. D. 1794.

CIRCULAR LETTER SENT TO ETTWEIN.[1]

Rev. Mr. Ettwein—

Sir,

We have taken the liberty of forwarding for your perusal an Invitation to the Ministers and Churches of every Christian denomination throughout the United States, to unite in an attempt to carry into execution the "humble Attempt" of President Edwards to promote explicit agreement, and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and

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[1] For several reasons this circular letter, preserved among the papers of Bishop Ettwein in the Archives at Bethlehem, is considered sufficiently interesting to warrant its re-publication in this collection.

It is probably one of very few copies now to be found treasured at the places to which they were sent together with a letter from one of the signers of the document.

It issues from the period in which the first general interest in the evangelization of the heathen began to manifest itself among English speaking people, and reveals, like this latter movement, the bright and hopeful signs of those times with which we usually associate religious decadence, aggressive infidelity and rampant immorality.

It recalls the fact that overtures looking to Christian union are not a new thing, that there have been intelligent and earnest men at all periods who labored to this end. The Scottish memorial of 1746 referred to was sent out just a century before the founding of the modern Evangelical Alliance (Aug. 19–23, 1846), and was one of various similar efforts running back to the middle of the sixteenth century when Calvin wrote to Cranmer on the desirability of healing the divisions among Protestants. The attitude of Ettwein, the most conspicuous representative of the Unitas Fratrum in America a hundred years ago, towards the attempt made by the authors of the circular is worthy of note, as characteristic of his Church which had always held the ideas and entertained the sentiments conveyed by the document. The

the advancement of Christ's kingdom on earth, pursuant to scripture promises and prophecies concerning the last time: founded on Zachariah viii, 20, 21, 22 verses—*Thus saith the Lord of Hosts it shall yet come to pass that there shall come people and the inhabitants of many Cities: and the inhabitants of one City shall go to another saying; Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts; I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem and to pray before the Lord.*

The attempt of President Edwards to unite Christians of all denominations in public and in secret prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and for the full and speedy accomplishment of the promises and the prophecies of the Latter-day Glory,

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first tangible fulfillment of Calvin's desire came to pass six years after his death when the *Consensus Sendomiriensis* was adopted by a union Synod held at Sendomir in Poland in 1570 by representatives of the Unitas Fratrum, the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church and maintained for many years by the Brethren and the Reformed, the leading parties to the first Evangelical Alliance. Now after the lapse of two and a quarter centuries the Brethren's Church which had begun its work in America by trying to bring about an Evangelical Alliance, five years before Jonathan Edwards' "Humble Attempt," is approached again by representatives of Calvinistic Churches with an invitation to a concert of prayer with a view to healing divisions. Ettwein answers in the fraternal spirit of his Church, but at the same time in the consciousness that it does not need to be wooed and won to principles which it has always advocated and which were embodied in its government, liturgy, internal institutions, methods of evangelization and attitude towards other religious bodies.

The significance of the call to a concert of prayer, as a religious movement of the time, appears in the distinguished names which figure in the document.

Joseph Sewell and Thomas Prince were collegiate pastors of Old South Church, Boston. Dr. Prince, who was eminent as a historian, antiquary, linguist, physicist and hymnologist, and who was honored in the name of the Prince Society of Boston, founded 1858, has been called "the most learned scholar, with the exception of Cotton Mather, in New England."

Samuel Nott was Congregationalist pastor at Franklin for the almost incredible period of 71 years and died in 1852 aged 98 years. He was a brother of the Rev. Eliphalet Nott who lived to be 93 years old.

Samuel Spring, father of the venerable Dr. Gardiner Spring, who from 1810 to 1873 was pastor of "the Brick Church" in New York City, was a chaplain under Benedict Arnold, carried Aaron Burr from the field wounded, was a leader of the Hopkinsian party and one of the founders of Andover

originated in a memorial upon the subject sent over from Scotland and signed by twelve ministers about the year 1746. The Author of this attempt which was first published in America and lately in England, labors to persuade the Churches and Ministers of Christ to come into this union and concert of prayer for the following weighty considerations. [Then follow eight considerations urged to the effect that the promises of the Latter-day Glory are yet unfulfilled, that Christians are encouraged to unite in prayer for what Christ prayed and suffered for and promised, etc. with a reference to the united prayers in days of old at the solicitation of Daniel and of Esther. Referring further

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Theological Seminary and of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

Samuel Stillman, one of the founders of Brown University and a member of the Massachusetts Convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788, was one of the leading philanthropists and most famous preachers of Boston.

Jedidiah Morse, father of Samuel Finley Breese Morse of electro-magnetic telegraph fame, was a foremost opponent of the Hopkinsians and as such one of the founders of the compromise Theological Seminary at Andover, was a leading defender of orthodoxy against the Unitarians and an earnest advocate of measures for civilizing and christianizing the Indians. Dr. Morse was the author of the first work on Geography published in America, in 1784 (the same year in which Carl Gotthold Reichel, later a Bishop of the Moravian Church, who in 1785 became the first Principal of Nazareth Hall on its present plan, prepared for the press his German work on Geography, for many years a text-book in Moravian schools,) and subsequently issued three other geographical works, which won for him the title of "the Father of American Geography." In 1805 he started "the Panopolist" which survives as "The Missionary Herald."

Samuel Hopkins was the originator of the modified Calvinism, known as Hopkinsianism, which created an epoch in New England Theology, was one of the earliest advocates of the abolition of slavery in the United States, and first broached the idea of civilizing and christianizing Africa by carrying back emancipated slaves to that country and colonizing them there.

David Austin, of Elizabethtown, who sent the circular letter to Ettwein, ran into vagaries on the Second Advent of Christ shortly after that time and even ventured to prophesy its occurrence in May 1796. He was in consequence dismissed from the ministry of his Church, but twenty years later, having abandoned his delusions and "returned to sound doctrine," was reinstated as a Presbyterian pastor.

to the efforts of President Edwards fifty years before, the circular continues:]

Under *these views* a number of Ministers being by the Providence of God assembled at Lebanon for the purposes of carrying on the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom * * * * did readily express their opinion and agree to unite their exertion in favor of an attempt to carry the object of the memorial in favor of which he wrote into full and permanent effect. In execution of this plan it was proposed that the Ministers and Churches of every Christian denomination should be invited to maintain public prayer and praise accompanied with such instruction from God's holy word as might be judged proper on every *first Tuesday of the four quarters of the year:* beginning with the first Tuesday of January 1795 at 2 o'clock afternoon, if the plan of concert should then be ripe for a beginning—and so continuing from quarter to quarter, and from year to year, until *the good Providence of God prospering our endeavors* we shall obtain the blessings for which we pray:—or until by delegation or council from the Ministers and Churches in concert (as may hereafter be provided) it shall be signified that good and sufficient reasons are found for discontinuing the concert.

It was also agreed that the Ministers present, as well as those who may hereafter discover a willingness to aid in the execution of this plan, shall consider it as their duty to invite their Brethren in the ministry to join with them in furthering the objects of this concert; and by every lawful means labor to promote the prosperity of Zion in this matter. And when it is thought a sufficient number of Brethren of different denominations have signed this paper to give the plan efficacy; it was determined that this proposal with the subscribers' names should be printed in a circular letter and be sent abroad for the final and permanent adoption of the Ministers and Churches disposed to favor the plan.

And in aid to the foregoing it was thought proper to add an extract from the preface of President Edwards' "Humble Attempt" written by five ministers of Boston and prefixed to that work Anno Domini 1747. The signers are Joseph Sewell, Thomas Prince, John Webb, Thomas Foxcroft, Joshua Gear. [Then follows the extract together with one from the second

edition, 1789, signed by John Sutcliff, after which are appended twenty-three signatures, viz.—

Timothy Stone, Min. of Christ at Goshen, Con.
Zebulun Ely, do. Lebanon
Levi Hart, do. Preston and one of the corporation of Yale College.
Samuel Nott, Min. of Christ at Franklin
Walter King, do. Chelsea
John Gurley, do. Exeter
David Austin, do. E. Town, New Jersey
Joseph Strong, do. Norwich, Con.
James Coggswell, D.D. do. Windham, Con.
John Whitney, do. Brooklyne, one of the corporation of Yale College.
Andrew Lee, Min. of Christ at Lisbon.
Nathanael Emmons, do. Franklin.
Stephen Gano, do. Providence.
Masa Shepard, do. Little Compton.
Peter Ph. Roots, do.
David Avery, do. Wrentham, Massa.
Thomas Andros, do. do.
Calvin Chaddock, do. do.
Herman Dagget, do. Southampton, L. I.
Solomon Morgan, do. Canterbury, Con.
Isaac Backus, do. Middleborough, Massa.
Jonathan Wilder, do. Attleborough, do.
Joseph Snow, do. Providence.]

The circular then continues:

And now Rev. Sir, If you should think proper to add your name, and possibly procure the names of such ministers of Christ within your District as may likely be disposed to favor, and to recommend the plan you will greatly oblige the interests of the proposed Concert, and in the end, we trust, in bringing great glory to God.

If you will by letter signify to either of the gentlemen hereafter named your approbation, and success in this matter at or before the 1st day of Nov. next you will enable the agents for the Concert to forward another circular letter, containing the

whole recommendation that may then have come to hand; and which will be accompanied with an invitation to you and to your Church permanently to adopt the plan of Concert; all which we hope may be done by first Tuesday in January or the fartherest by first Tuesday of April 1795. The persons nominated as Committee of Correspondence who will receive advice and Transmit the same to the subscribing agents are Rev. Samuel Spring *Newburyport*, Rev. Doct. Stillman *Boston*, Rev. Jedediah Morse *Charleston*, Rev. Stephen Gano *Providence*, Rev. Doct. Hopkins *Newport*, Rev. Massa Shephard *Little Compton*, Rev. Samuel Austin *Worcester*, Rev. Walter King *Norwich*, Rev. Timothy Stone *Goshen*, Rev. Nathan Strong *Hartford*, Doct. West *Stockbridge*, Doct. Edwards *New Haven*, Doct. Lewis *Greenwich*, Doct. Rogers, Doct. Levingston, Rev. Mr. Foster or Rev. Mr. Pilmore *New York*, Rev. Mr. Austin *E. Town*, Doct. Green Philadelphia, Doct. Davidson *Carlisle*, Rev. William Graham *Lexington*, Doct. Keith *Charleston*, Rev. Thomas Reese *Salem*, Rev. Silas Gildersleve *Midway*.

From these Gentlemen accounts are humbly solicited as soon as convenient respecting the success of the present proposal; that measures may be taken to spread abroad the plan of Concert as soon as possible under the united influence of all the recommendation which the well wishers to Zion may be disposed to give it.

Imploring the blessing of heaven to rest on the plan; and fervently soliciting the aid of all pious Ministers, that success may attend it—we subscribe as organs of communication—as temporary Agents for the Interests of the Concert.

Walter King.
David Austin.

Norwich, (*Connecticut*) *Sept. 1794.*

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF AUSTIN TO ETTWEIN ANNEXED TO THE CIRCULAR.

Elizabeth Town Septembr 7th 1794

Respected Friend,

Being not unmindful of the very friendly treatment receivd from you when at Bethlehem two years past, I have thought proper to address to you the present circular

letter asking your concurrence in and recommend[a] of the concert for prayer. The bearer waits and I must conclude.

Will you favor me with a line on the subject by the return of M[r] Richards who is conducting two young Ladies to your care.

With sentiments of great esteem
I subscribe yr friend and Brother
in the Gospel of Christ Jesus,
DAVID AUSTIN
min. of Christ at E. Town.

Rev. Mr Etwine

ANSWER OF ETTWEIN TO AUSTIN OCT. 9. 1794.

Rev[d] and dear Sir,

Your favour by M[r] Richards with the printed Address from such a number of Servants of Christ, gave me lively Joy. It was as if I heard David say "O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love Thee." We have the promise of Christ that where two or three agree to pray for something in his Name they shall be heard, and we can be assured that the proposed prayer will be pleasing unto him.

As I have not time to communicate the letter to my fellow-labourers before the return of M[r] Richards I can only answer for myself: I promise faithfully and regularly to appear with my prayer before the Throne of Grace at the Day and hour which shall be agreed upon, and will make my beginning the first Tuesday in January next and continue so every first Tuesday of the four quarters of the year, and will encourage my Brethren to do the same. But I cannot promise such a public prayer as is proposed. We have at Bethlehem and at all our settlements every week one such a meeting of Intercessors for the advancement of the Kingdom of God and the destruction of the Works of the Devil. We pray God in our Church Litany: to rule and lead the holy Christian Church, to increase the knowledge of the Mystery of Christ and diminish misapprehensions. To make the word of the cross universal among all those who are called by his Name. To unite all the Children of God in one Spirit. To preserve unto us his Word and Sacraments pure unto the end of days. That we as Christ's members be joined together in Unity and truly love one another. That God over all

blessed forevermore may have mercy on his whole creation and be the Saviour of all men.

May God pour out the Spirit of prayer upon his whole militant Church in these last perilous times more than ever.

With Love and Esteem
I am Rev[d] Sir
your humble B[r] in Christ
JOHN ETTWEIN

ALEXANDER J. DALLAS[2] TO ETTWEIN.

Sir.

Permit me, in the absence of the Governor, to introduce to your acquaintance M[r]. Liancourt (formerly Duke de Liancourt) who is about to prosecute a tour through the interior of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Any information which you can communicate to him, and attention that you may be pleased to shew, will confer a favor on the Governor, as well as on me.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Reverend Sir,
Your most obed Hble Serv.
A. J. DALLAS.

Phila., 15 June 1797.
The Right Rev[d] Bishop Ettwein
Bethlehem and Nazareth.

HENRY DRINKER[3] TO ETTWEIN.

PHILAD. 8[th] 8 mo. 1791.

Esteemed Friend,

A Friend of mine in New York, Ann Bingham, is very desirous of placing her Daughter Ann, now about 11 or 12

[2] Mr. Dallas, who at this time was Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under Governor Mifflin, took the lead in encouraging European capital as well as labor into the State to develop its resources, and made special efforts to show wealthy or influential foreigners the most attractive spots in the interior. There are evidences elsewhere that he took particular pride in the settlements of the Brethren at Bethlehem and Nazareth.

[3] Drinker, whose ancestors had been oppressed in Old England by

years old, at the Seminary for the education of Girls at Bethlehem. —The Mother, who is descended from a Noble family in England, seems pressing that her Daughter should be speedily introduced under the Discipline and Oeconomy established by the Brethren respecting the rising Generation of her own Sex, and in this matter it is much my wish, she may be gratified. Godfrey Haga[4] I find apprehends the number of Girls placed at Bethlehem is complete, and fears there is not at present room for the introduction of the person above mention'd—However if the earnest request of her Mother can be complied with, I trust our Friend Jacob Van Vleck[5] and thyself will strive to oblige her and me in this matter, and in that Case I wish to be inform'd of the terms and rules of the Brethren on this Occasion. To receive an answer by the next Stage or some speedy conveyance will be taken kind by thy assured Friend

HENRY DRINKER

Parson Ettwein

Churchmen and in New England by Puritans, shows his Quaker principle in discarding the practice of the former and calling a Bishop plain "Parson," but likewise the spirit of the latter in recognizing a Bishop as a friend. Ettwein, whose Church had also suffered the intolerance of both extremes, and who in the meaning of St. Paul was "all things to all men," speaks of Drinker elsewhere as "my valued friend."

[4] Godfrey Haga, grocer at what is now 239 Race St., Philadelphia, and an officer of the old Moravian Church on Race Street, whose noble legacy to "the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" so greatly increased the resources of the Church for prosecuting mission work, served at this time as agent of the schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Sketches of him may be found in "Biographies of Successful Philadelphia Merchants" by Stephen A. Winslow, and in the pamphlet entitled "The Centennial Anniversary of the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" (1887) by the late Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz. Mr. Townsend Ward, in his interesting papers on "North Second Street and its Associations," makes the following mention of him (Penna. Mag. IV. 172) "Out of Second Street, but near at hand, on the north side of Race Street near Third, at the old No. 87, Godfrey Haga, about 1778, established himself as a grocer. His success in business was considerable, and he became an importer of German goods. He afterwards lived, first at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets and subsequently in the "Gothic Mansion" built by John Dorsey, on the north side of Chestnut Street, east of Thirteenth."

[5] Second Principal of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, 1790–

ETTWEIN TO DRINKER.

Esteemed Friend,

I received your favour of Aug. 8th when I was at Lititz on a Visit. Some Weeks before I had a few lines from Mr. Lewis Ogden at Nyork in favour of Miss Bingham, like yours for her admission into the girls school here. Upon application in her behalf to the Inspector Jacob Van Vleck the Lady got an answer and her daughter is expected sometime next Month, by which her own and your desire is granted. The Lady has been informed of the Terms and Rules on which scholars are received, as I have no copy at hand you will excuse my not sending them on this occasion, Mr. Meder[6] or Mr. Haga can communicate them to you. I am with love and esteem

your known Friend

J. Ettwein

Beth 27th Aug.

1800; second Principal of Nazareth Hall, 1802–1809; Moravian Bishop, 1815; died at Bethlehem, 1831; a son of Henry Van Vleck, the New York merchant, father of Bishop William Henry Van Vleck and grandfather of Bishop Henry J. Van Vleck.

[6] At the time pastor of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, where he labored 1785–99 and again *ad interim* 1813–14. He was born at Randen in Livonia, December 2, 1740, joined the Moravian Church when a lad of fifteen years in the school at Gross Hennersdorf, studied in the Theological Seminary at Barby, served as a teacher, as editor of the *Gemein Nachrichten* and as spiritual overseer of young men in Germany and England; 1773 went as missionary to the West Indies, came to Pennsylvania 1782, was stationed not only at Philadelphia but also in New York, at Lititz, at Nazareth, at Hope, N. J. twice, being the last minister there, 1808; while finally living at Nazareth was a member of the General Helpers' Conference and died April 18, 1818, at Bethlehem. A portrait and reminiscences of him are given in the "History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia" by Abraham Ritter.

ALBERT GALLATIN[7] TO ETTWEIN.

PHILADA. 4th May 1796

Sir

I have been requested by my friend General Douglass[8] the Prothonotary of Fayette County in this State, to try to procure admission for his daughter Sarah Douglass in your Seminary—I am informed that so many applications are made to you that very often young girls are not admitted till two years after they are entered. This regulation, however just in itself, would be exceedingly inconvenient when applied to a person living beyond the Allegheny mountain at a distance of 300 miles, where there is no regular stage or mode of travelling and when, therefore, a long journey must be undertaken not only by the young person, but also some other to take care of her upon the road—Under these circumstances, they would not attempt to set off without having some certainty and assurance of her being admitted upon her arrival—I wish, therefore, it was possible for you to accomodate so far your rules to the present case as to fix a precise time at which she might be admitted—say as an instance, that if she was to come next fall she would be received—Your answering by post will much oblige me, and your compliance with my

[7] Gallatin, who after graduating from the University of Geneva, his native place, had come to America in 1780, fired with democratic sentiments, to participate in the great struggles of a new country, founded New Geneva in what later became Fayette Co., Pa. where he had located at the suggestion of Patrick Henry, and for many years had his home there. This distinguished statesman, financier and scholar who served as Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, was Ambassador to Paris and Minister to England, was one of the Commissioners in the treaty of Ghent, was the first President of the American Ethnological Society and has been characterized as, of all men in America next to Franklin, deserving the title of a citizen of the world, was at the time when he wrote this letter, though only 35 years old, in Congress helping to fight for the right of that body to examine state papers in the hands of the President and his cabinet. He died in 1849.

[8] General Ephraim Douglass, of Uniontown, Pa., a letter from whom has been published in the Pennsylvania Magazine, IV. 247, in reference to military affairs at Pittsburgh in 1781, containing an allusion to the Moravian Indian towns on the Muskingum in Ohio, and of whom the story is told that in 1809, having visited Gen. St. Clair in the log cabin on the summit of the Chestnut Ridge in which the famous old soldier passed his last years and died in poverty, he presented him with $100 and wrote on the back of

request would confer a real obligation upon General Douglass and myself—At all events I wish her to be entered for admittance and remain with great respect

Sir

Your most ob^{t}

& h^{e} Servant

ALBERT GALLLATIN.

I meant to give this letter to my friend M$^{r.}$ Eyerly, but believe I will send it by post as it will reach you sooner.

ETTWEIN TO GALLATIN.

17 May 96.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

I receiv^{d} your Letter of the 4th of May in favour of Sarah Douglass. Please to accept my being absent at that Time on a Visit in Staten Island as an Apology for so late an Answer.

I communicated the Letter to the Rev. Jacob van Vleck the Inspector of the School with my best wishes for a favorable Answer. As there is no Age of the Child mentioned his answer to the question is: In Spring 1797, and not before can Sarah Douglass of Fayette County be admitted into the School, provided she is about that Time passed 9 years old and not above 14 years of Age. The Inspector is much troubled with applications and as some parents are not punctual to send for their Daughters at the Time promised, he finds himself often disappointed. But General Douglass will (God willing) not be disappointed if he brings or sends his Daughter next Spring.

I am with due Esteem

Honored Sir

your Humble Servt.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

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the note which St. Clair insisted on giving him; "Never to be demanded. To save the feelings of an old friend I accepted this receipt after refusing to take an obligation." Principals of schools could easily decline, in those days of little competition, to be constrained by influence to accommodate their regulations or to confer special favors. The name of Sarah Douglass appears in the catalogue of the school for 1797, with the statement that she became the wife of Daniel Kellar.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH SYLVESTER W. GARDINER AND HIS SON JOHN GARDINER OF BOSTON.[9]

JOHN GARDINER TO LAWRENCE NYBERG.[10]

HAVERFORDWEST, [WALES] Tuesday afternoon, 1768.

Dear Sir:

I am just now honoured with your most polite Letter in answer to mine of yesterday. I return you many Thanks for your Intention of doing what in you lies towards forwarding a Settlement of the Brethren upon the River Kennebeck. I did

[9] Both the elder and the younger Gardiner were men of note. Sylvester W. Gardiner, physician, anatomist and pharmacist of Boston, was proprietor of part of the "Plymouth Purchase" on the Kennebeck River, induced many Germans to settle in that region and founded the town of Gardiner in which the present city of Gardiner, Me. arose, not far from where the Broad Bay Settlement was located in which the Moravian Evangelists Hahn, Herr and Sœlle, especially the latter, labored for a time, and which furnished the nucleus of the congregation of Friedland, N. C. He was a strict churchman, edited and published a prayer-book, founded the first episcopal church in the present State of Maine and helped to build King's Chapel, Boston.

He remained a Tory, went to England when the Revolution began, came under the proscription and suffered the confiscation of about 100,000 acres of his immense estate, returned to America after the war and died at Newport, R. I., in 1786.

His son, the Hon. John Gardiner, born 1731, studied law and was admitted to the bar in London, was a particular friend of Churchhill, Wilkes and others of their profession, appearing for them as counsel in court, practiced in Pembroke, South Wales, with his home at Haverfordwest, and there became acquainted with the Moravians, especially with the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg. He went to the Island of St. Kitts as Attorney General in 1766, leaving his young son, John Sylvester, who later became rector of Trinity Church, Boston, (the church of Phillips Brooks), in the Moravian School at Fulneck, England. He returned to the United States in 1783. While a member of the Massachusetts legislature he again appeared as a friend of the dramatists in moving the repeal of the statutes against theatrical entertainments. He was a leader in the early Unitarian movement in

not propose to write to my Father or my Brother relative to this matter till the Directory had determined something about it. Part of this Estate will (according to the natural Course of Things) one Time or other be mine; and if the Brethren should settle there, they shall never find me a bad Neighbour. In regard to your Opinion of my Sentiments, in Matters of Religion; I think better of myself for cherishing that Opinion, since it has

Boston (conf. remarks on religion in his letter to Nyberg) and helped to convert King's Chapel, of which his father had been one of the founders, into a Unitarian Congregationalist church. He was drowned while on a journey in 1793.

The Bethlehem Diary contains the following notes of his visit in 1783:

June 6.—John Gardiner, Esq., who has rendered substantial assistance to our missions in the West Indies, especially in St. Kitts and Antigua, visited us on his way to New England and brought us letters from our Brethren Braun in Antigua [Peter Braun, missionary, W. I. 1769–91, descendants of whom are living in Bethlehem] and Gottwald in St. Kitts.

June 7.—Mr. Gardiner and other gentlemen from Boston attended the services.

June 12.—Bro. Ettwein accompanied Mr. Gardiner as far as Nazareth, on his way to Boston.

It was chiefly at his instance that the founding of a mission on the Island of St. Kitts (1777) was taken into consideration. Bishop Martin Mack, writing from St. Thomas, mentions an interview with him on the subject in 1775, and speaks of him as a very highly respected man, and the first missionaries in St. Kitts, Gottwald and Birkby, report special favors at his hands.

Among the literary curios in the Archives at Bethlehem is a copy of a little publication, evidently presented to Bishop Ettwein by Mr. Gardiner, and containing his autograph, entitled "SOME BRIEF HINTS OF A RELIGIOUS SCHEME, taught and propagated by a number of Europeans in a place called *Nisqueunia*, in the State of *New York*, WRITTEN BY VALENTINE RATHBUN, Minister of the Gospel. HARTFORD: Printed and sold in the year 1781."

The tract refers to the Shakers under Ann Lee, and their first settlement in America in 1776, in the forest about seven miles northeast of Albany, N.Y., (Niskayuna) on the land secured by John Hocknell, one of their number.

This memento helps to reveal the peculiar interest which Gardiner took in all kinds of religious societies.

[10] Laurentius Thorstansen (or Theophilus) Nyberg, born in Western Gothland, educated at the University of Upsala, was ordained to the Lutheran ministry by the Swedish Archbishop Jacob Benzelius, came to America in 1743, located as the first settled Lutheran pastor at Lancaster, Pa., in 1744, ministering there and in the neighborhood with zeal and success. He befriended the Swedish Moravian minister, Paul Daniel Bryzelius, when the latter was driven from his field in West Jersey by the intolerant Magister Naesman, in 1744, and defended the Brethren at a Conference of Swedish

obtained your Approbation. I have always thought *that every man had as good a natural Right to differ from me in Opinion, in Regard to religious Matters as I had to differ from him.*

To convince you of my good Opinion of the Brethren, I have determined that my little Boy (now near 3 years old) shall be placed among the Brethren in Yorkshire for a few years, provided they will take care of his Education, but this is *inter nos.* M^rs^ Gardiner joins in best Wishes and Compliments to M^rs^ Nyberg and Yourself with your most obliged and sincere

J. GARDINER

LAWRENCE NYBERG TO THE UNITY'S DIRECTORY
[THEN IN LONDON.]

Counsellor Gardiner with his best compliments to the Brethren, begs Leave to add the following to his former Proposals; viz.

The River Kennebeck abounds with *Sturgeons* to such a Degree that they often overset the Canoes.

One of the greatest Merchants in London has applied to the Counsellor's Father, residing near Kennebeck River, to send him as much *cured Sturgeon* yearly as possible, the more the better. The Art of *curing* being unknown there, the Counsellor applied

Lutheran clergy in Philadelphia, in May of that year. In 1745 he joined the Union Synod, instituted in 1742 at the call of Henry Antes, of Fredericktown, (then a member of the German Reformed Church), to carry out Zinzendorf's idea of uniting all denominations in a "Church of God in the spirit." This step and his affiliation with Spangenberg, when the latter was mobbed in Lancaster, awakened such hostility against himself that after continuing to minister a while longer to a friendly minority he was constrained, in 1748, to unite with the Moravian Church. In 1752, having gone to England to labor there, for reasons satisfactory to all concerned and seeming under the circumstances to be valid, he was ordained a Deacon by a Bishop of the Moravian Church in London, though it had been decided at the Synod of 1748 to admit ministers regularly ordained in other Churches as in Deacon's orders. His case constitutes the only one of the kind on record. In 1754 he was ordained a Presbyter. (See Moravian History, 1734–1748, by L. T. Reichel.) In England he served the church in London for a while, then succeeded the Rev. Ludolph Ernest Schlicht in the charge of the new congregation at Bristol, with Kingswood, Bath and Trome as affiliates, having Anthony Seifert (one of the Moravian pioneers in Pennsylvania) and others as assistants. In 1763 he located at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, South Wales, and established the congregation there on the foundation laid by the evangelist John Cennick. In 1768 he was called to Leominster, where he labored till 1773; then he removed to Bath. He died in England.

to Mr. Templeman, Secretary of the Society for encouraging Arts and Sciences in London, to offer a Premium for discovering the Secret, but as yet without Effect. Now as cured Sturgeon is imported from the *Northern* Countries (the Counsellor thinks from Russia) as we have already Settlements there, he presumes the Brethren may obtain that Art, and if they should chuse to settle in Massachusetts-Colony, he engages they shall have the best Land on the River, where they may command the Sturgeon Fishery, and make thousands of Pounds by that one single Article yearly, without running the least Risque.

N. B.—The Sturgeon is cured in a certain Pickle, and cannot be dried like Cod Fish, etc.

By Pot-Ashes a great deal of Money is also made there. If the Brethren should desire particular Information (besides what Hutchinson's History offers) relative to the Charter, Laws, etc. of that Colony; the Counsellor offers to write to Mr. Pownall, Secretary to the Board of Trade, whose Brother was Governor of Boston, who should give every Satisfaction in his Power.

And in Case the Brethren should chuse to send any Brethren to inspect and view the Land; the Counsellor offers to send a Letter by them to his Father to give them the Preference. His Father has several Saw Mills and also small Vessels on the River, in order to facilitate the Settlement and assist the Colonists.

I started some Difficulties in Regard to the first Charter being revoked, and its affecting the Validity of the first Grant of King James I. on which the Counsellor's Father and his Compagny rest their Claim. Also the Province-Laws relative to Religion—the Grant and Meaning of the *present* Charter granted by William III. etc.

But the Counsellor is perfectly clear in every Point, that should it otherwise be thought proper, the Brethren would be every way quite safe. NYBERG

CHRISTIAN GREGOR, IN THE NAME OF THE UNITY'S DIRECTORY IN EUROPE, TO THE CONFERENCE AT BETHLEHEM, DEC. 1768.

Mr. Gardiner, a counsellor at law, recently offered to secure us a tract of land on the Kennebeck River on which a township with the necessary farms etc can be laid out. Upon considering the matter in our Conference the question occurred to our minds

whether this might not result in an establishment for our friends who live in Broad Bay and have thought of removing to Wachovia in order to live near to the Brethren. With this idea in view the worthy Wardens' Conference at Bethlehem is requested to take the matter into consideration, and if the project seems feasible to communicate their suggestions to us in detail. Bro. Ettwein has been in Broad Bay and himself inspected the condition of things there.

The Kennebeck River cannot lie far from there and if in this way the friends in Broad Bay could better themselves externally and at the same time a settlement of the Brethren could be established on the Kennebeck River something would again be accomplished in the service of our Saviour.

The Brethren will therefore please investigate the matter further, and report to us as soon as possible, and then further steps can be considered.

Bro. Nyberg will in the meantime get the above mentioned Mr. Gardiner to write to his father about the matter, in order that the latter when communicated with by the Brethren may know what his son had offered them.

EXTRACT — THE REV. BENJAMIN LA TROBE, LONDON, TO BISHOP NATHANAEL SEIDEL, BETHLEHEM.

Lindsey House Oct. 22, 1768.

Having heard last night that letters would go soon this morning to Pennsylvania, I gave Bro. Wollin a letter from Counsellor Gardiner to his father at Boston to transmit to you, together with instructions from the Directory about it which he will transcribe out of mine.

ETTWEIN TO S. W. GARDINER.

Sir,

The enclosed letter was sent to the United Brethren settled at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania by some of our people in England desiring us to send, if possible two Deputies to the Kennebeck River to view the country there and to see whether a settlement on that River was advisable, and if found feasable to apply to you one of the owners of said land, for the conditions of a settlement there.

We don't know how soon we can send somebody that way, so we will not detain the letter which, as we understand, is from your son.

If the Gentlemen would favor us with a few lines about the conditions and encouragement given by you to the settlers we should take it very kind, and a letter may be directed to the care of Mr. Daniel Benezet at Philadelphia. One thing I must mention, viz. we always choose to live together as near as possible in a Body, on account of the Meeting places and other reasons conducive to a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty. We belong to "the Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren commonly called Moravians."

I am Sir
your Humble Servt
JOHN ETTWEIN.

Feb. 4, 1769.

S. W. GARDINER TO ETTWEIN.

BOSTON April 14th, 1769.

Sir

Your favours of the 4th of February (Inclosing one from my son in England) never came to hand till yesterday, acquainting me that the United Brethren of Bethlehem by the desire of some of their Brethren in England were about to send two Deputies to the Kennebeck to View the lands there and to see whether a Settlement was Feasable for some of their Brethren, and as you are desirous to know the Terms or Conditions of Settlement I here Inclose you an advertisement Published by our company Six Years ago, since then there has been so great a run of People to that country that whether they will continue to give now quite so large a quantity of land to each Family is a little uncertain, but you may depend the Deputies will receive all due Encouragement from the Company—for whom I am

Your most Obedient and very
Humble Servt
S. W. GARDINER

[The letter of John Gardiner from England and the advertisement referred to have not been preserved. The negotiations seem to have ended when the Broad Bay colonists removed to North Carolina, in 1769–70, before they heard of the new plan, and not to have been renewed until after the Revolution.]

JOHN GARDINER TO ETTWEIN.

Boston, October 7th 1783.

My worthy good Friend!

Since I had the Pleasure of seeing you in June I have taken a long Tour thro the States of New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Newhampshire and the West and East Parts of the State of Massechussetts, and have but lately returned to this Town, from *Kennebeck*, where I spent 5 Weeks with my Brother, who has very splendid possessions there—I am now petitioning our General Court for large Possessions there, which my Father left there when he forsook his Country, and placed his Trust in George the Third of Great Britain. If I succeed, as I hope I shall, I shall be happy to have the Brethren near to me on the Kennebeck. I spoke to your Brother *La Trobe* years ago, about a settlement on that River, when I was in England & before I went to the West Indies:—I did then expect to have been in Possession of a considerable Tract of Land there years before this—I long to have a Church of the Brethren in that Country, where at present they (the white People, who call themselves *Christians*) have no place of worship nor any appearance of Religion, but live without God in the world—I wish you would engage about 3 Barrels of the best Shellbarley for me, & send them to Philadelphia to my Friend Mr *Peter Kemble*[11] who will immediately pay for the same—He will be found at Archibald McCall's[12] in Second Street Corner of Pine Street, or Spruce Street, I do not now recollect which—I shall be very thankfull

[11] Son of Richard Kemble, some time British Vice Consul at Smyrna. He was educated in England, began mercantile life in Amsterdam, made several voyages to the Levant and Africa, and later settled at New Brunswick, N. J. He was for many years a member and part of the time President of the Provincial Council of New Jersey. His wife was Gertrude, daughter of Samuel Bayard. He died at his country seat, "Mt. Kemble," near Morristown, N. J., aged 90 years. He seems to have visited Bethlehem and become acquainted with Ettwein. He is described as "a handsome man, of polished manners, a good Latin scholar, and well read in history."

[12] Archibald McCall, with his brother Samuel, engaged in the East and West India trade, in which he amassed a large fortune, married Judith, a daughter of Peter Kemble. He seems to have executed commissions for the Brethren at Bethlehem at various times. He and his wife were among the leaders of fashionable society in Philadelphia. Townsend Ward says of him, Pennsylvania Magazine, IV, 48: "In 1762–63 [*i. e.*, when he married

if you will do me the Favour to write a Letter to me, and send it to M^r *Kemble* in *Philadelphia* who will send to me, by a Brig that will be soon coming here from there—I am to beg the favor of you to get me Models, in Wood, made of your Saw Mill, and your oil Mill, your Mill for shelling oats and grinding oatmeal, and also of your Mill for cutting Bark for the Tanner, all which are at Bethlehem.[13] If you have an ingenius Workman who will make these Models for me, I will pay Him whatever shall be thought reasonable—The Models ought to be upon a scale of about half an inch to a Foot of the original. Will you be so obliging as to let me know if you can get any one to execute this for me, and at what cost, and how soon? I earnestly hope I shall be able to get a model of the curious Grist Mill at *The Hope;*[14] Enclosed is a Letter to your Brother Culver[15] there,

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Judith Kemble] Archibald McCall, the India merchant, built a house, still standing at the corner of Second and Union Streets. Its garden extended a considerable distance down the latter street, and was well stocked with various animals brought by his supercargoes from foreign parts, so that it was in a manner our first zoological garden."

[13] At that period the manufacturing and other industries of Bethlehem were far in advance of those existing in any other place in the United States outside of the few largest cities on the Atlantic seaboard. Very interesting references to them are to be found in the entertaining little volume entitled "An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1799; with a succinct History of the Society of United Brethren, commonly called Moravians. By John C. Ogden, Presbyter in the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States."

He mentions the grist mill, describing some of its ingenious appliances, the fulling mill, with its water wheel and reservoir, the bark mill, stating that "the bark is delivered in such a state from the works that it might be easily packed in casks for transportation, or an essence be extracted by chemical process," the tannery, the saw mill, the oil mill, the grain-hulling and snuff mill, the brewery, the pottery, the textile manufactories, the water-works, the laundry, the dairy with its churning machine, the apiary, the pharmacy and the botanical garden.

[14] Hope, in Oxford Township, Sussex County, (now Warren County,) N. J., founded as a regular church settlement, on the model of others then existing, in 1774, on land purchased of John Samuel Green, where a less completely organized station, called Greenland, had existed since 1769. (See Vol. I, Transac. Hist. Soc., p. 51.)

The mill was built on Paulin's Creek, in 1770, planned and supervised by Christian Christiansen, of Bethlehem, the ingenious machinist and millwright who erected the waterworks at Bethlehem, the first in the country.

asking his assistance to procure me such Model—I expect to own several Streams which run into the Kennebeck, and having the best models, I can put up the best Mills for as little expense

That there was anything peculiar in the construction of the mill, as the letter seems to imply, records do not inform us. Mr. Gardiner evidently considered it superior to any he had ever seen elsewhere. The Hope mill was an important establishment during the Revolution. It is recorded that in January, 1778, a hundred weight of its flour cost $20. In June of that year its entire stock of flour and wheat was seized for Continental stores. The first miller was John Heckedorn, who plied his avocation only half a year, and was succeeded by Daniel Hauser, the miller of the revolutionary years. He was the youngest son of Martin and Margaretha Hauser, whose numerous descendants so largely peopled Bethania, N. C., that this place came to be dubbed Hausertown (pronounced in North Carolina Hoosertown) and is so known to this day.

Daniel was born in Conewago County, Pa., and was married June 8, 1772, to Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew and Barbara Meyer. One of the later millers was Richard Whitesell, grandfather of the late John Whitesell, manager of the old Bethlehem and Philadelphia stage line, and a son of Andrew Whitesell and his wife Margaret, m. n. Green, a sister of John Samuel Green.

[15] Ephraim Culver, who at the date of this letter was inn-keeper at Hope, and also baker for the village; for did not the committee which presided over the destinies of the community give him explicit orders to sell fifteen "Lebkuchen" for one shilling to Frederick Leinbach in the store? He was the son of Ephraim Culver, Sr., erst of Connecticut, who, with his family, stood in friendly relations to the Moravians laboring at Sichem; removed to Smithfield, Township, Monroe County, Pa., in 1753, and built himself a house and a mill on McMichael's Creek, near the site of Stroudsburg; with his family fled from his home on account of the Indian outbreak, December 11, 1755, and took refuge in Nazareth. He was at various times landlord of "The Rose," near Nazareth, and of "The Crown Inn," on the south side of the Lehigh River, at Bethlehem, and died at Bethlehem, 1775. The younger Ephraim Culver, who is referred to in this letter, was born in Connecticut *circa* 1741, learned the trade of carpentering, and after the hegira from "over the mountains" served an apprenticeship under Hartman Verdries, the miller at Gnadenthal. In 1769, before he located at Hope, he carried on a bakery in the large stone house in Bethlehem, in which in more recent times the late John F. Wolle kept the congregation-store. He was married to Magdalena Lanius, of York, Pa., in 1770. She died at Hope, leaving four children:

Ephraim, born at Bethlehem, 1773.
Elizabeth, " " " 1776.
William, " " " 1778.
Jacob, " " Hope, 1783.
His death and burial occurred at Shoeneck in 1804.

as I could put ordinary Mills—My best Love and good wishes attend you and all the Brethren at Bethlehem and elsewhere, and I remain your much obliged and faithfull Friend

J. GARDINER.

P. S Your Brother *Otto*[16] as I think his Name is—the Physician or Doctor at Bethlehem cures the Bite of the Rattle-snake—He shewed me some Roberts' Plantain which he used in the Cure—Now I should be exceedingly obliged to Him if he would give the Receipt or proper mode to cure a Person bit by a Rattle-snake as it may save the Lives of many wretches and poor

[16] The fact that two Ottos, brothers, both physicians and surgeons, figure in the early history of Bethlehem, Nazareth and other settlements, and that both are continually referred to in the records as merely Dr. Otto, tends to confusion. They were sons of John Bernhardt Otto, physician and surgeon at Meiningen, County of Henningen, Principality of Saxe-Meiningen, and his wife Christina, m. n. Carl.

The elder brother, Dr. John Frederick Otto, born at Meiningen, August 9, 1712, studied at Jena and Halle and obtained the degree of M. D. at the latter place. In 1740 he came into contact with Moravian evangelists in his native place and under their influence was spiritually awakened. After the sudden death of his father he visited the Brethren's settlement of Herrnhaag, in 1742, and the next year proceeded via Herrnhut to Gnadeck, an estate of the Count of Promnitz, in the castle of which the "Pilger-Gemeine" (Count Zinzendorf's itinerant company) was sojourning at the time.

There, in 1743, he was received into the Church, and on August 17 of that year was married to Anna Maria Weber, from Frankfort on the Main. On September 7, 1743, he started with his wife to Holland, where he attached himself to the company of one hundred and thirty-three persons, called "the second sea congregation," which set sail on the ship *Little Strength*, Capt. Garrison, from Cowes, September 27, landed at New York, November 26, and reached Bethlehem, December 6. He officiated as physician of the company, and is mentioned among the officers of the sea congregation. He became the first established physician and surgeon at Bethlehem, where his wife died April 4, 1749. His second wife, to whom he was married June 25, 1750, was a daughter of John Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia, Judith, who came to Bethlehem in 1741, and was married July 10, 1742, to the missionary David Bruce, who died 1749. Dr. Otto was ordained a Deacon of the Church August 18, 1754. After seventeen years of faithful service at Bethlehem, Nazareth and the neighborhood, he was transferred to Lititz in October, 1750. (See Transac. Hist. Soc. II, 356.) In 1763 he returned to Nazareth as resident physician, where he remained until his death, December 31, 1779. On account of the very deep snow and the extreme cold his remains could not be interred until January 4. His widow removed to Bethlehem January 22, 1780, and made her home in the Widows' House,

Children who are very subject to be bit at Milton and about the blue Hills, within a few Miles of this Town—The children are often stung when they are gathering Huckle-berries—I would assist them & administer the medicine to them without Fees or Reward if I rightly knew what it was.

ETTWEIN TO JOHN GARDINER.

John Gardiner Esq^{r} at Boston.

Jan^{r} 15th 1784.

Honord & D^{r} Sir,

I received your Favour of the 7th Oct^{r} and was very glad to see by it that you & your Son not only arrived Safe at Boston but that you also had a good Prospect to obtain the Land on Kennebek River where you kindly wish to see a B^{rns} Settlement made. I am sure it would be a Benefit to that Country and a Blessing to such as have a Love for Religion, but

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where she died January 27, 1786. He had two children by his first wife, a daughter, Anna Dorothea, who died in early childhood, and a son, Joseph, who was born at Bethlehem, April 4, 1745, married Anna Mary Horsefield, a daughter of Timothy Horsefield, at Bethlehem, January 28, 1774. He also became a physician and surgeon, and succeeded to his father's practice. Dr. John Frederick Otto, and not Dr. John Matthew Otto, as erroneously stated in a foot-note (Trans. Hist. Soc. II, 26), was the great-grandfather of the late Prof. Henry I. Schmidt, of Columbia College, and of Edward Otto Smith, merchant, of Philadelphia.

The younger brother, Dr. John Matthew Otto, was born at Meiningen, November 9, 1714, studied first with his father and then at Augsburg, entered into his father's practice about 1740, at the time of the great awakening accompanied his brother, his brother-in-law, Koch, the surgeon Arnold, and others, in all about twenty persons, to Herrnhaag, but returned home. In 1746 he again followed them and united with the Church. In 1750 he came via Holland and England, with a company of about sixty persons, to America, reached Bethlehem, July 8 of that year, and at once entered the service of the Church as physician and surgeon at Bethlehem, he and his brother, John Frederick, being for a while located here together. He was married at Bethlehem, September 7, 1753, to Joanna Sophia Magdalena Dressler, daughter of the foreman of a brass foundry at Grünen, Schwartzburg, where she was born, January 1, 1726. She came to America with Bishop John Nitschmann's company of one hundred and twenty-five persons on the *Irene*, in May, 1749. She died at Bethlehem, February 25, 1776. Dr. Otto married again, October 28, 1778, his second wife being Maria Magdalena Schmidt, who was born in the Palatinate, November 22, 1735, reached America a lone orphan (both parents, with their other three children, having died on the voyage), was taken in charge by the Bœckels of

I don't know how it is, it seems for the present as if the Br^n were quite disabled to make new Settlements, we can hardly find proper Subjects for those already begun.

I could not get any quantity of shelled Barley, the Mills could do very little on account of the drought we had & whether it would suit you to send any in the Spring I don't know. I sent your Letter to M^r Coulver at Hope. My desire to hear him and M^r Leinbach there about the Millwork is the Cause that I could not write to you as soon as I wish'd to do.

I have enquired of our Millwrights about the Modells of the Mills mentioned in your Letter, there was none that would undertake it. M^r Leinbach was willing to make one of the Mill in Hope, but would not fix a Time to compleat it and said for less than 3 or 4 half Joes[17] he could not do it. A Draught for a Mill-

Heidelberg, former friends of her parents; came thus into contact with the Brethren, and in 1748 moved into the Sisters' House at Bethlehem, as one of its first inmates. She died April 18, 1784, leaving Dr. Otto a second time a widower. On August 7, 1786, he was stricken with paralysis and died at Bethlehem, August 9. The record states that "he served the congregation and surrounding neighborhood for thirty-six years with great faithfulness, by the Lord's help performed many difficult cures, and was held in high regard. He was a sincere lover of the Lord Jesus and of His Church, yea he was a philanthropist." This is the Dr. Otto referred to in Gardiner's letter. The following were his children, all by his first wife:

Christian Frederick,	born at	Bethlehem,	December 18, 1755;	died	young.
Sophia,	"	"	August 30, 1756,	"	"
John Matthew,	"	"	February 9, 1762,	"	"
Rebecca,	"	"	April 30, 1765.		
Sophia Magdelena,	"	"	April 12, 1769.		

Rebecca was married at Bethlehem, October 25, 1791, to the woolen weaver, Gottlieb Braun (Brown), a son of the West Indian missionary, Peter Braun. Their children were John, born December 12, 1792; Matthew, born November 20, 1794; Rebecca, born December 22, 1797; Maria and Fredericka, twins, born December 2, 1800, and Thomas Otto, born October 16, 1802.

Sophia Magdalena was married at Bethlehem, July 17, 1796, to Dr. John Frederick Rudolphi, a son of George Christopher Rudolphi and his wife, Maria Elizabeth, m. n. Weidiger. Their children were: Sophia Frederica, born June 6, 1797; Charlotte Amelia, born July 25, 1800; Carl August, born December 26, 1802; Caroline, born May 31, 1804; Maria Elizabeth, born July 2, 1805; Henrietta Augusta, born August 16, 1806; Lydia, born November 16, 1807.

[17] The Half-Joe, or Joannes, was a Portugese gold coin, brought into circulation probably through the East India trade. Ettwein's letter indicates the value of Pennsylvania currency at that time, the coin being worth about $8.60.

wright of the Mill in Hope, they would not engage for less than £3 *i. e.* one half Joe. and M^r^ L. thinks a Plan for an undershot Mill would very likely better suit your streams than an overshot. I'll use my best Interest to get Draughts made of the Mills at Bethlehem, during the Winter.

Dr. Otto cured the Bite of a Rattle Snake in the foll. manner he takes Root and Herb of Roberts Plantin[18] (Cæsar's Antidote) or only the Herb and makes a Decoction or Thea of it and gives it the Person bit to drink. The Herb from the Decoct. he takes and rubs the Leg downward to the Wound but it must not be laid on the Wound, green Leaves are better than dried, this is the whole Process.

ETTWEIN TO ARTHUR LEE,[19] ESQ.

Sir,

I receiv'd your favour of Dec^r^ 4^th^ by M^r^ W^m^ Henry. A desire to gratify you with something relative to the language and customs of the N. Indians was the cause of my long silence. I

[18] *Plantago Lanceolata* or *angustifolia*, originally introduced from Europe, but now growing wild in great abundance in many localities.

John Parkinson, "*Apothecarye* of London *and the King's Herbarist*," treating of the virtues of this plant in his "THEATRUM BOTANICUM, the THEATER OF PLANTES, OR AN UNIVERSAL AND COMPLEATE HERBALL," London, 1640, says: "The juice mixed with oyle of Roses and the temples and forehead anointed therewith, easeth the pains of the head proceeding from heate, and helpeth franticke and lunaticke persons very much, as also the bitings of Serpents or a madde Dogge. * * * Briefly all the Plantanes are singular good wound herbes, to heale fresh or old wounds and sores, either inward or outward.

"*Erasmus*, in his *Colloquia*, reporteth a prettie story of a Toade, who being stung or bitten by a Spider, sought out Plantane, and by eating thereof was freed from that danger."

If all the plants to which this virtue is ascribed by the old herbalists really possessed it, none would ever need to die of serpent's fang or spider's sting.

Qu.—Is "Roberts Plantain" a mere phonetic corruption of Ribblewort Plantain, the English name given the narrow-leaved varieties by the oldest botanists?

[19] Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners to France with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane in 1776, much written about on account of his dishonorable intrigues against his colleagues, was a Commissioner to treat with the Indians of the Northwest in 1784, and a member of the "Board of Treasury," 1784–89. This correspondence must have occurred at some time during those years. Unfortunately, Lee's letter to Ettwein has disappeared.

have since in my leisure hours looked over some Diaries and Relations of our Missionaries among the Indians & made a short abstract of their observations and specimens of their language of which I hereby send you a copy. Your remarks about the Indian name of a Whale made me enquire whether the Delaware Nation had knowledge of that creature in olden times, or whether they only knew of it by description, and I was informed that their Nation knew of a Whale before white People came into this Country, that their forefathers had lived far East or N. E. wards where they saw these animals, the name m'beeachk signifying a Water-Spout, and by the account of some Indians Whales were seen upon the Long Island or Jersey Coast, perhaps before there was so much whaling. Some Seneca Indians knew of the Greenlanders, described their dress &c. calling them Seal or Sea Dog Eaters. I suppose they meant the Esquimaux. In the Spring of 1765, 2 April, Seals or Sea Dogs were shot by the Indians high up in the Susquehanna river, and so by some accident a Whale or Whales may also have happened to come so far West or South.

I am with due Esteem,
Honored Sir
your willing obed^{t} Serv^{t}
JOHN ETTWEIN

The Honorable Arthur Lee Esq^{r}
one of the commissioners for the Board of Treasury of
the U. St. at
New York

SEARCH FOR WELSH INDIANS PROPOSED BY ETTWEIN.

"In the Complete History of England published by T. Smollet at London, Vol. I, Book 2, page 338, it is said that 'A.D. 1171 when there was a civil war among the Sons of Owen Quinett, Madoc, one of the Brothers, resolved to abandon his native country, and having equipped a few ships, sailed with his adherents in quest of some new habitation, then steering westward, arrived at an unknown land which was in all probability the coast of America. There he founded a settlement, and re-

turning gave such an advantageous account of the country that a great number of families were persuaded to follow his fortune, (*vide* Powel's History of Wales) and with these he set sail in ten ships for his infant colony. This settlement must have been destroyed in the sequel, and in all likelihood the second embarkation perished at sea, otherwise they could not have been so entirely cut off from all communication with their Mother Country but that some kind of correspondence would have been maintained, or at least some vestige of them remained on the spot, where they fixed their habitation.'"

[To the above extract from Smollet by Bishop Ettwein, is added a note to the effect that this colony went from Pembrokeshire. What now follows, appended to the extract is presented in translation, having been written by Ettwein in German.]

Thirty years ago I heard a tradition in North Carolina that Indians had come to New Orleans who had words from the Welsh language, and that far up the Mississippi stone tablets with inscriptions had been found. In the year 1788 a report came to North Carolina that an invasion of hostile Indians had occurred on the Ohio in Kentucky, that the inhabitants had pursued the Indians and taken several of them prisoners, that on a certain rainy night a Welshman set to guard the prisoners scolded about the Indians in his native tongue, that one of the prisoners thereupon sprang up and greeted the Welshman as his countryman, that he [the Indian] informed him [the Welshman] that he had left his nation, which lived only six days' journey from Detroit, and gone out to look at the country, when he fell in with this war party, accompanied them and was taken prisoner, and that his nation [or tribe] yet possessed written records.

As it would be worth while to seek out such Welsh Indians, if such a nation really exists in North America, I worked out a scheme for a searching expedition as follows:

a. The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen should undertake it and engage for the purpose one of its missionaries with a few Christian Indians who understand the language of several other tribes.

b. Besides these it should endeavor to secure several unmarried Brethren from Wales who can speak both English and Welsh.

c. An effort should be made to secure a pass or recommendation for this party from the Governor at Detroit, and a message from a Delaware town and from a chief of the Chippewas recommending them to their neighbors, as well as a letter of credit which would enable them to secure necessary supplies from the most remote traders.

d. The company should start from Pettquotting [Huron Village] or Sandusky, after gathering information in reference to the chief town of the Tribe living next to the Wyandots and Chippewas. Then they should inquire for Indians who understand and speak languages other than their own and take one such with them to the nearest tribe which they might suspect were perhaps descendants of these Welsh. In this way it would appear before they had traveled beyond 1000 or 1500 English miles, whether such Indians existed or not. Bro. Marschall[20] wrote that these Indians were said to live about the source of the Missouri.

That civilized people have lived on the Muskingum River appears very probable from the remains of old fortificatians discovered there.[21] Whether they were exterminated by the natives or penetrated farther into the wilderness and perpetuated their nationality is what we wish to ascertain. If there is such a race and they are discovered there is reason to hope that they may gladly embrace the gospel. The reason why I would propose Welsh Brethren for the purpose is in order that they may introduce themselves and enter into conversation with every Indian tribe that has its own language. If the party should find such Indians they might try to get several of them taken to Wales, or at least brought before Congress to prove the fact, and this would constitute indisputable evidence that the English were the original discoverers of America. It might be that the Spaniards for this very reason drove them so far back from the sea coast that they should become and remain entirely forgotten.

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[20] Frederick William von Marschall, President Southern Provincial Board, Moravian Church, Salem, N. C.

[21] Some of the most interesting works of the "Mound Builders" are to be found along the Muskingum, Sciota and Miami Rivers in Ohio, and the regions drained by these streams are particularly rich in other remains of a race more advanced in civilization than any tribes found on the continent by the white man.

e. The expenses of such an expedition might be met by subscriptions, perhaps in Wales, and the Episcopal Society[22] would perhaps contribute something. It would probably cost several thousand pounds, including presents to various Chiefs.

At the Synod in 1789 I communicated this project to Bro. Wollin, Bro. Steinhauer and others. No attention was paid to it however by any one but Bro. Steinhauer, who sent me a list of Welsh words from Wales.

[22] The Church of England Society for Propagating the Gospel.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE REV. WILLIAM SMITH, D.D.[23]

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rev[d] and Dear Brother,

Your very acceptable letter came safe to my hand in course, and it rejoices me much to enjoy such an epistolatory interview with a Bishop of the Church which has frequently "resisted unto blood," which has with "kneeling," "praying" and "abundance of tears" both night and day, held up an unconquerable evidence for the truth delivered to the saints, against all the fiery darts of the evil one and the persecuting measures of the Roman Church.

To the glory of His grace who hath tried your Fathers in affliction's furnace, and now at length in His abundant mercy hath vouchsafed rest to their Sons, be this ascribed.

Not only do I feel myself interested in the happiness of "all that call upon the NAME of the Lord Jesus Christ" in general, but similarity of condiiton in many respects betwixt the Church

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[23] Born at Aberdeen, Scotland, 1754, and educated at the University of that place, came to the United States as a Deacon of the Church of England in 1785, was Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., 1790–97, and died in New York City April 6, 1821. He was one of the organizers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Rhode Island, and published "Offices for Induction of Ministers into Parishes," "Essays on the Christian Ministry," "Chants for Public Worship," and other works. He was a nephew of Dr. William Smith, who is associated in history with the Philadelphia Academy, out of which grew the University of Pennsylvania, with the organization of the P. E. Church in Maryland, and with the "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer, at which he did the principal work.

Some letters having been lost, this correspondence is not consecutive.

of the United Brethren and that part of the Household of Faith in which I received my ordination, the Church in Scotland, naturally claims my warmest attachment. Our sufferings till within 20 or 30 years ago, were numerous, the overflowings of ungodliness well nigh made us exclaim "all men are liars," till we saw that our Episcopacy (though annulled as far as acts of a British Parliament can) could be perpetuated under every penalty and prohibition; that tho' our churches were either taken from us or burnt, and our Hierarchy driven from place to place, all this at the instigation of Popery on the one hand and fanaticism on the other—together with the perils arising from the false brethren—yet the time hath arrived, our Bishops, Priests and Deacons are no more "driven into corners"—the eye of the Church beholds them with gladness. The penal Laws were taken off June last year, and the immunities of free Denizens of the Kingdom restored by the Civil Government. As the Church is the Spouse of Christ, whenever her love for Caesar commences, her danger of affliction is great—therefore, and for 10,000 other causes and considerations, it appears highly expedient that the Church and State should be never blended, as the case now is with the Church and the Civil polity of England. Any religious establishment is by its own nature subversive of the true nature of Christ's kingdom which is not of this world; and always whenever the interests of the State and the Spirit of Revolutions in Governments require it, the Church in that case if even apparently connected with the State, or under any apprehension of interfering with its concerns, shares the lot of its Master—who, if we understand or believe the meaning of the superscription on the cross, suffered neither for promulgating new doctrines nor abrogating the Law of Moses, but *purely* on a political account—for Pilate and Herod were thereby reconciled, for before they were at enmity between themselves.

I am happy there is no prospect in view at present of any Religious Establishment in these States, but there are many who tell us one great view a certain order of men had who originated and fomented the quarrel with the Mother Country, was to obtain thereby supremacy for their own Community. In such a case I should think it the duty of every Episcopal Society to join in prayers to God, and use every prudent measure

and argument with men to prevent such an appropriation of Religious Liberty.[24]

I ought to beg your pardon good Sir, for being so tedious, and now one word or two on business.

Mrs. MacKay in this place (the aunt of Miss Hunter)[25] requests me to inform your Reverence that as she has two boys and a girl, grandchildren, with her (their Mother is in Georgia) and wishes to have them put to some Academy where their morals may be secured while their instruction advances—the girl about 11, the boys, one 9 and the other about 7—and inquired whether you could admit them some time this ensuing fall, and on what terms.

Pray, Sir, if it would not give too much trouble, send me a Bill of the several Articles of Tuition, together with their respective rates, if any wearables are afforded and the rates per annum—in one word every item and the attendant expense. Please God, next Summer, if I can by any means accomplish it, I have serious thoughts of bringing you one of my sons, if you can find room for him in your Academy.

By Miss Hunter's letter to Mrs. MacKay, I learn that she is perfectly satisfied at her place in your Academy. I expected to have heard from herself all the particulars before this, but perhaps she defers giving me that pleasure from the punctilio that "I ought to write her first," the which now I have done and request you to be so kind as to convey it to her. I hope she will

[24] Among Ettwein's papers of this period is the following, without date or signature, which was sent to him:

"Copy of a letter sent to the President of the United States.

Sir,

The United States will never be at peace at home or abroad as long as the Calvinists teach that the Church of Rome is Anti Christ, or expect to coax the Almighty to give them the control over the nations by bringing on the millennium. Infidelity and sedition result from this ambition.

The Right Revd the Bishop of the Society of United Brethren

Bethlehem

Pennsylvania."

[25] Catharine Hunter, whose name appears in the catalogue of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem for 1790, probably a daughter of Dr. Wm. Hnnter, the first lecturer on anatomy in America, who was the father of Senator Wm. Hunter, famous in connection with the Missouri Compromise, and grandfather of Captain Charles Hunter of the U. S. Navy.

upon every occasion manifest the docility of her mind, and improve under the instruction of your Seminary. Her situation at present in regard to her Mother and family is big with expectation of various kinds, one while made to expect her Mother and sisters here, next, letters suggest the probability of being soon sent for to England. All these things have very much engaged Mrs. Smith and me in her favour, and indeed they entitle a girl of her inexperience to much sympathy and attention.

I bow to receive your Episcopal Benediction and add my best salutations to your church, tho' unknown.

I remain

R. & D. Br.

Your most affect. friend

Newport & very humbl Servt & Br.

7th July 1790. WILL. SMITH.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

4th July 1791.

Revd and Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive as tokens of your friendship and brotherly love, two fine fruits of your diligence and zeal to promote religion, for which I herewith return you my hearty thanks. May our dear Lord bless them to many Souls. They are a Witness and proof that you are not ashamed of the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as many learned men in our day are, who dare not confess but rather deny that He is the Son of God, Jehovah our God.

Our Bro. Fr. Schmidt[26] has payed us a Visit, and is now returning once more to Newport. We recommend him anew to your love and friendship. We will pray for one another that we may continue to be faithful labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord and that He may be with us and bless our Testimony.

I am with sincere love and esteem

Revd & dr Sir

yours

Revd Wm Smith, Newport. JOHN ETTWEIN.

[26] See note, page 87.

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Right Reverend & dear Sir,

Your much esteemed favors saluted me in course & I heartily thank our heavenly Father for the continuation of His preserving care over you and all the faithful with you.

It gave me great pleasure that my little publications have met your approbation. However imperfect they may seem in the eye of the unregenerate man of the world, or of the self-inflated critic (full of reasonings), by the Divine help they are what they are—and if they or anything else that may come from my pen are productive of any good, I claim no higher share of a recompense, than the privilege of ascribing all the glory to God.

For some time past I have been employing some leisure hours in composing some critical and historical Dissertations on such parts of the Scriptures which in our Translation do not fully quadrate with the Hebrew and Greek Originals.

This, (if ever it sees the light) is more intended for the benefit of the young Clergyman than that of the Layman—indeed I fear few Laymen would take the pains to read it—the temper of Galio being so prevalent among them—"caring for none of these things." But whether people will hear or whether they will forbear, it behooves the faithful Minister of Jesus Christ to make it manifest that there is a prophet among them. Having no proper Library here, my progress is much impeded—nevertheless I go on tolerably well. This is a task partly imposed on me by our Bp Seabury.[27]

[27] The mention of Bishop Seabury's name recalls the momentous conjunction of events at that period in the matter of church-organization in the new American States, especially on the part of the clergy and parishes maintaining their connection with the regular Anglican communion on the one hand, and those who were following the lead of John Wesley on the other hand, with the Moravian Church, which had its Bishops and its regular organization in the Colonies fifty years before this time, not essentially affected by the changed status after the Revolution, standing between the two in peculiar relations to both, in correspondence with both in reference to the religious situation and outlook, and warmly interested in the plans and movements of both. A copy of the record of the Scottish succession from which Seabury got his consecration in 1784, and a copy of Wesley's letter to Dr. Coke and others, written from Bristol, September 10, 1784, in which he announced the appointment of Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury to be "joint *Superintendents*" (Bishops) "over our Brethren in N. America,"

A matter of vast magnitude has long hung upon my mind, which now I cannot refrain from speaking a few words upon. That is:—considering the Nature, Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacraments and Episcopacy of the United Brethren, I have always wished that some terms of communion or a *concordat* could be settled between *you* and *us*. Nothing delights me more than to look back upon the Multitude of the believers of one heart and of one mind. At this our blessed Saviour eminently aimed when He prayed so fervently and often (St. John 17) for the Unity of His Body the Church. I am much afraid that the deceivers who in vain tempted the Master, but alas! succeeded better in tempting the Servants has taught too frequently in the

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and enunciated the principle and policy to be followed in government and ritual, have been found folded together among Ettwein's papers in the archives at Bethlehem.

It is striking that the dilatory methods of the Anglican Hierarchy at the time were the cause of the course of action determined upon by both sides, each in its own way. Dr. Seabury, elected first Bishop of Connecticut in 1783, after waiting at London a year for consecration, finally got what he sought of the Scottish Bishops, whose position was such that they had nothing to lose or to gain by "considerations."

Wesley, in the letter above referred to, states in reply to the proposition to have the English Bishops ordain them preachers for America: 1. "I desired the Bishop of London to ordain only one, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings, and the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them, and how grievously would this entangle us."

So instead of following the course of the clergy of Connecticut and Dr. Seabury, which gave rise to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, he concluded that Presbyters could, on Apostolic principle, ordain their brethren to the ministry, and that Bishops were only Presbyters specially appointed to oversight, took the matter into his own hands, and through Coke and Asbury established the Methodist Episcopal Church and ministry in the United States. It is interesting that later plans looking to a reunion of the two great bodies through the intervention of Bishops of the Moravian Church, standing in a peculiar manner between the two, were proposed.

In the letter referred to, Wesley says: "I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national church in the world) which I advise all the traveling preachers to use on the Lord's Day in all Congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying *ex tempore* on all other days."

He also adds this note: "If any one is minded to dispute about Diocesan Episcopacy, he may dispute; but I have better work."

Christian School, and caused many groundless separations in the Christian Church.

But lamenting the evil is nothing. Much better me thinks it is to try to remove it. And were all the Clergy upon the Continent, of whatever name or denomination to lay each aside something, and meet each other by innocent concessions, would not that mightily persuade others that we act from principle and a general desire of restoring Unity and of a consequence a greater degree of Charity than is compatible with differing opinions and differing modes of worship. I thought I would venture this application to you, because the Unitas Fratrum, being so nearly allied to us, the difficulty would be less than where the differences are greater. Would it be agreeable to you to treat a little farther on this subject?—Farewell—let us pray for each other. May God direct us all in promoting His glory by forwarding the salvation of mankind.

I am with all Christian
Love and Esteem
R^{t} Rev^{d} & Dr Sir
Yours &c—
William Smith.

Newport
14 March 1792.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

Rev^{d} W^{m} Smith, Newport, Rhode Island.

Rev^{d} and Dear Sir,

I received your much esteemed favour of March 14th on the 31st of March, and find with pleasure that you go on in studying the H. Scriptures for your own benefit & the edification of others. May the Lord and His Spirit assist you in your labour and bestow His blessing on it in a rich measure.

There is an excellent preface to a small octavo Bible printed in London 1698 by John Canne, on the principle that the Scripture is the best Interpreter of Scripture.

It is surely our duty to stick as long as possible to the first & original meaning of the words & not to admit a strange or particular exposition of phrases except where they are against sound reason and the analogy of faith. It is a grievous observation that the most Unbelief and the greatest enmity against Christ in this hour of temptation is found in the Clerical Order who have

studied Theology, but do not love Christ, the Sum and substance of the H. Scriptures, & do not like the Doctrine of Christ & his Apostles because it will not square with their carnal mind and vain Philosophy. Critical and historical dissertations will have little effect with such. They will not thank you for placing a candle to every dark place where they usually stumble, as long as they resist the Holy Ghost when He reproves them of Unbelief.

Without regeneration there is no inclination to faith, no love of Gospel Truth, no delight in the written Word of God. If the Clergy did seek the kingdom of God, repent and believe the Gospel themselves, and then speak because *they* believe, things would soon have a better aspect in the Christian world.

But it is the Gift of God that we believe on his Son, Jesus Christ, and can say: This is my Lord and God who redeemed me a lost and undone human creature. I believe that by my own reason and strength I cannot believe in or come to Jesus Christ my Lord, but that the Holy Ghost calleth me by the Gospel, enlighteneth me with His gifts, sanctifieth and preserveth me in the true faith, and I can pity all who listen more to the old serpent, than God the Holy Ghost in explaining the Word of God. Let us pray for them that the Father may manifest His dear Son unto them.[28]

[28] The apprehensive interest excited in the minds of Christian scholars a hundred years ago by the propensity to tamper with Scripture translations appears from the subjoined communication in the handwriting of Dr. Morse (see page 43), preserved among Bishop Ettwein's papers with the following memorandum by him, "read in the conference 16th and answered 24th of July." The copy of his answer cannot be found. It also furnishes an interesting evidence of the ideas which in those early days of the Republic prevailed among some in reference to the function of Congress in matters of religion.

"Boston 24th June 1790.

Revd Sir,

The Congregational Ministers in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts assembled in Boston on the 27th of May 1790, Noted,

'That the Revd Doctr Willard, Doctr Howard, Mr Morse, Mr Payson & Mr Thatcher be a Committee in the Name and behalf of the Congregational Ministers of this Commonwealth, in Convention assembled, to prepare, sign and transmit to the Congress of the United States, a Petition, requesting the attention of that Honorable Body, to the subject of the several impressions of the Bible now making; representing the importance of accuracy in those

As to the other part of your letter, calling upon me to say something about the groundless separations of the Visible Christian Church, and the ways and means to remove them, and as it were, settling some articles of peace between the different Denominations particularly yours and the United Brethren's Episcopal Churches, I find myself not at all qualified or fit to give advice or to be instrumental in such a long wished for accommodation, Brotherly Unity or Uniformity. I know of several attempts to unite the established Religions in Germany, but all have proved hitherto lost labor. I, for my part, can view the variety of forms with great veneration as in the Wisdom of God permitted to a good end. Tho' contrary to the Admonition of St. Paul, I Cor. 1, 10, we see in the same chapter that in the time of the Apostles such distinctions already began. Can we not compare them to the different Tables in the Parable of the Marriage feast? Can we not liken them to different mansions in the house of our Heavenly Father? To the different languages, dialects and tongues in the world? There is a blessing in them all, and

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impressions; and earnestly praying that they would take such measures as the Constitution may permit, that no Edition of the Bible or its Translation be published in America without its being carefully inspected & certified to be free from error.'

Noted, 'That the same persons be a Committee to apply to the Representative Bodies of the other Denominations of Christians in America & to request their assistance & support in accomplishing so important and desirable an object.'

Agreeable to the first of the above Notes we have forwarded a petition to Congress, praying that they would take into their consideration the interesting matter of printing the Bible, and direct to such measures as, in their Wisdom, may be thought proper to secure the Public from impositions by inaccurate and mutilated Editions of it.

We consider this as a subject which equally concerns all Denominations of Christians, as we all appeal to the Holy Bible as the Standard of Truth. It is unquestionably of the highest importance, that this acknowledged fountain of Truth, be preserved pure and uncorrupted. This will not probably be the case if the matter is left wholly to the Printers.

We therefore, as Friends and Brethren united in promoting the same general cause, and as jointly concerned in preserving the purity of the Holy Scriptures, do, in behalf of the Convention, earnestly request that the Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, would concur with us [i. e. Episcopal and non-Episcopal Protestants in all branches unite] in petitioning Congress, that they would so far interpose their Authority as to prevent in-

each of these noble old buildings and cathedrals deserves esteem. I don't like that Spirit which says, they are all alike to me, which flows from a contempt of all.

It is certainly a most amiable and delightful representation to behold in spirit the first Christian Church, which was to be the pattern of all Christian Assemblies. We pray that all the Children of God may be united in one Spirit. The lack of Uniformity in Rites, Ceremonies, Discipline and outward Order can be no hindrance to the execution of our Master's last Will and Testament, John 17, viz.—to love one another sincerely, and to abide in one Mind, the Mind of Christ.

Every living Member of that Body whereof Christ is the Head, is disposed and inclined to it, and if we remain as branches in Him the Vine, his prayer is fulfilled. This is the Holy Catholic Church in which I believe, the Communion of Saints, the Church which God bought with His own blood. This Church has continued since the days of the Son of Man and will continue untill

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accurate Editions of the Bible. It was the wish of the Convention to have written in the first Instance to the Representative Body of your Church, & the other Representative Bodies of Christians in the several States, requesting that Committees might be appointed by each to confer and unite with us in our Petition, and thus to concentre the whole Christian Interest in America. But to accomplish this desirable object would have taken a long time, and it was thought the business was of immediate importance, as proposals for several Editions of the Bible are now in circulation.

We take this opportunity to express our sincere desire to cultivate a friendly & Christian intercourse with the ministers of your Denomination, as we are firmly persuaded that such an intercourse between Christians of different Denominations and Sentiments would have a happy tendency to harmonize them, to remove unreasonable prejudices, to promote a spirit of candour and love, and thus essentially serve the Intent of our Holy Religion. It might also have a beneficial influence on the civil affairs of our Country.

We wish you Sir to communicate the foregoing to the Representative Body of your Church, as soon as you have opportunity.

Wishing prosperity to the kingdom of our common Lord and Saviour, we are, Reverend Sir,

Your Brethren in Christ,

Joseph Willard
Phillips Payson
Simeon Howard } Committee
Peter Thatcher
Jed^{h} Morse

Rev^{d} M^{r} Etwine, Bethlehem.

He comes again, and all the powers of Hell shall not prevail against this Congregation of Christ.

Who is or is not a member of it, God only knows, the Lord knows His own and knows where they dwell. It would be a pleasure to all who interest themselves in the cause of Christ and His Kingdom, to see many Congregations or Societies collected here and there in the Christian World, resembling that unseen Church of God in her faith, love and obedience. The contemplation of the Church, out of all Kindred and Nations, and the assurance that I am a living Member of that Body, is a great joy and comfort to me, when I cannot forbear to see how many show it by the fruits they bear, that they are not of the household of faith, no sheep following the great Shepherd, though they be Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Calvinists, being alienated from the life of God thro' ignorance that is in them.

Charity makes me hope that the prayer of my Lord & God, in His pangs of death, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do," will save many where mercy can plead ignorance.

Dear Sir, you see I am very open, & perhaps rather too free with my sentiments.[29] The one thing needful is to come to Christ, to love Him and by faith to be a partaker of all that He is and all that He has.

That you may always by the instruction of the Holy Scriptures & from Experience, speak of the love of God towards us fallen creatures and of the atonement made by the blood of the Lamb of God, our Peace with a joyful spirit, to the blessing of your hearers, shall continue my prayer. Pray also for me,

Your humble Servt

[May 4, 1792] JOHN ETTWEIN

[29] It is interesting to note how Ettwein repudiated the idea that any outward polity, ritual, formulated confession or hierarchical pedigree constitutes its adherents necessarily members of the true Church, thus testifying on the one hand against those who consider the creation of outward denominations the supreme heresy, and on the other hand, against those who fanatically magnify denominational distinctions and thus aggravate schisms, while at the same time he dissents emphatically from those who affect to despise denominational standards, or to treat their distinctions with indifference. His position is that toward which the best thought of all denominations in modern times is moving in the discussion of these vexed questions, that which seeks a sound basis of unity in diversity. In reading the latter part of this letter it must be remembered that a man of seventy years was addressing one of thirty-eight.

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rt Rev[d] & dear Sir,

Your truly primitive[30] and much esteemed favours came safe to my hands, & I have thus long delayed my acknowledging the receipt of the same till I have got a safe conveyance by the Bearer.

No less striking than melancholy are the remarks contained in the first part of your letter, concerning the infidelity and consequent enmity of many clerical gentlemen to the heart-cheering doctrines of the cross, and the Redemption which is in and through the God-man, Jesus Christ. And if we search into the general cause (as to particular or concurring causes, they may be equally impossible to be investigated as removed) I believe I shall find it in the commonly received plan of Education at most of our Schools & Colleges. A boy is trained up to think of nothing but Heathen Mythology, his mind is alienated from God insensibly to the contemp'ation of those who are no Gods, but as St Paul asserts, "Devils"—regardless of the beauties of Divine poetry, the Psalms, Isaiah, & Jeremiah's plaintive Lamentations, the Teacher tries to impress his pupil with the most exalted and indelible ideas of the sublimity and elegance of his favorite heathen Authors—the gilded pill goes down—the taste for criticism secures the hold already gained by this deceptive mode of education—& the clearest and most luminous Revelations of the true God are eclipsed, in the eye of the critic and the reasoner by the gaudy decorations of Fable, setting forth to their distempered fancy those which are false and imaginary. If the Languages cannnot be learned by Christian Students without the aid of Pagan Greece and Rome, why cannot the Divine Scriptures in their Original Languages be suffered to unfold *their* beauties and have at least a fair chance of rivalship with these *poisonous* and bewitching fables?

Nor has the present system of Philosophy and Mathematics any better effect—the Tree of Knowledge still appears pleasant to the eye but, alas! Knowledge makes not the man of God perfect, & the complete Scholar may fall short of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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[30] Of apostolic spirit.

Without the enlightening influence of God the Holy Ghost, the benighted mind of man must remain in darkness; and as all celestial knowledge comes from this source and from this source only, blind are they and miserably deceived who imagine their own power can enlighten their darkness. May Jesus the Light of the Gentiles & the Glory of Israel have mercy on such and grant them a better mind.

Perhaps the principal difficulty of uniting the several Churches whose *faith* and *doctrines* are the same (I speak not of Rites and Ceremonies or even of modes of performing Divine Worship provided they be analogous to one another) may in some measure be owing to some latent principles, it may be even of piety and zeal for our Maternal church, lest such an union should swallow up that and absorb her individual existence. I own no one zealous for his Maternal church but must recoil at this idea. But on my plan, I would have no individual Branch of this proposed Unity to interfere with or infringe upon the *Principia* or fundamentals either relating to Discipline or Doctrine, but to be on such a charitable footing as to hold communion with each other in the mutual participation of Sacraments and Holy Orders, in sending and receiving Ambassadors to General Synods, & thus preserving the outposts of the Unity of the Spirit & the Bond of Peace.

Your candor and openness to me will Sir, I trust apologize for speaking so freely my thoughts, nay wishes on this important head: I cannot but dwell upon the concluding part of my Redeemer's address to His Father:—*That They may be* ONE *in us, that the World may know* (or rather acknowledge) *that Thou hast sent me.* Pray excuse the trouble I give you with my propositions, proceeding as I trust from my Zeal for the honor of our blessed common Lord & the happiness of His members. Imploring the Angel that conducts Joseph like a Sheep to guide you through this life, leading many Sons and Daughters along with you into the life of Glory, I am Rt Rev^{d} & Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

Newport, Servant in Christ,

the 1st Sept. 1792. WILLIAM SMITH.

[No further correspondence between this date and August, 1794, has been preserved, though it was evidently continued during this interval.]

SMITH TO ETTWEIN.

Rt Reverend & Dear Sir,

Your last letter containing a definition of the word *Church* came safe to my hands. It was highly acceptable, as indeed every sentence that comes from your pen. Your definition respecting immediately that saying of the Apostle Peter, "Every one that worketh righteousness is accepted with Him," & that of St Paul, "he never left himself without a witness," was exceedingly just & proper; and mine was no less true, but more particularly restricted and circumscribed by the idea of the needless divisions and separations among professing Christians—the daily starting of new and contradictory opinions, forgetful as it were that "Christian is the highest style of man" & paying no heed to that prophetic warning against division and departure from the truth of the Gospel, "It must be that there be heresies among you, that they who are among you may be made manifest."

Of this I am fully persuaded, that did Christian Charity operate as much in practice as it seems to do in theory, the Union of Christians on proper principles would not be so interrupted as it is; we would all more and more aim at Unity, we would all remember that Dis-Unity or a want of harmony is highly detractive from the evidence to the truth of the Incarnation of JESUS, who in his celebrated prayer in the 17th of St John's Gospel makes this UNITY or ONENESS a standing testimony of his being come in the flesh—"that they all may be ONE &c that the world may BELIEVE that THOU hast SENT ME."

To promote this Unity, and to adduce my evidence to the glorious truth that "the Father sent the Son to be the propitiation for us" has ever been, and by God's help shall ever be the general tenor of my praying, preaching and course of life. And in a particular manner I long to see a nearer intimacy established between your churches and ours. There have some time ago been propositions made from the Methodists to unite with us & I am in hopes that God's good Spirit will teach both them and us how to accomplish this Union and to render it permanent. The doctrinal points that lie in the way of bringing together both the *Unitas Fratrum*, the *Methodists* and *Our Churches* into *one great Communion*, in my humble opinion may be very easily recon-

ciled; as to Government or internal Police [Discipline] let that be as may be judged best by each branch of the general Unity.

And O! how happy were it for that man, whosoever he is, that shall be anywise instrumental in uniting so many Christians in a Visible Union in the Body of Christ and thereby cut off every appearance of Sectarianism from those who are so nigh to each other already, every ground of dispute about *name* or in support of discriminating principles. Blessed be he for whom this great and good work is prepared!

I seem as if I could never give over writing on this subject—but for the present I stop, and now begin to talk with your Reverence on another in which I am, in proportion to its magnitude, interested, and shall esteem it no small satisfaction, if I can engage that unmerited friendship you have from our first acquaintance always shown me, to take a part. The subject is the education of some motherless &, except their surviving parent, friendless females. One of the Vestrymen of my church, Major John Handy, a respectable member of civil society as well as a warm friend to Christianity has lately in the course of God's Providence, been deprived of his wife & left to act in the twofold capacity of Father and Mother in behalf of ten children, eight of whom are females. To assist and counsel him, this worthy Gentleman has no near relation, all of them being removed hence either by death or worldly connection, except an elderly Lady, his Mother-in-law, and a younger brother, both in this place. Both he and his children therefore are evidently in peculiarly delicate and afflicting circumstances. He finds no comfort in the idea of educating his children, particularly the girls, but in committing them to the tuition of the Bethlehem School, on which he is altogether determined as they grow up & become fit for being sent. At present he proposes sending three of his daughters, the one 8, the other 10, & the other 13 years, provided there is room for them.

Children left as they are stand in need of every assistance from humanity & benevolence; and a parent left with eight motherless female children has a right to every compassionate and helping hand; & therefore with a person of your parternal feelings & long experience of the various vicissitudes of this mortal life, persuasions to comply with our wishes are altogether unnecessary.

From an information of my good Brother Frederick [Schmidt] that Bethlehem School is so full, as with extreme difficulty to receive any more young Misses, & that there are many upon the admission list in waiting I write thus earnestly; but I hardly think that there are any of those expectants whose situation (all things put together) so loudly bespeaks admission as those three Misses in behalf of whom I now write. To a parent not yet 40 years old, with no friend or near relation to assist him personally in educating eight daughters this is a very momentous task, and to be effected on this plan with any propriety is next to impossible. Farewell, Sir, let me hear from you on this subject as soon as you can make it convenient.

Mr. Handy proposes bringing his daughters some time in the month after next. The sooner your letter of advice comes, the more time there will be to prepare them. I beg my love to the good Gentleman who attended you here. Mrs. Smith joins in best wishes to yourself. May the great Shepherd of the Sheep preserve you and all the faithful with you, both Soul, Body & Spirit blameless to the day of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and present you and all other his redeemed ones, with joy unspeakable before his Father's throne is the continued prayer of

Rt Rev^{d} & Dear Sir

Your most affectionate Br. in Christ
& Son in the work of the Lord,

Newport
2nd August 1794. WILLIAM SMITH.

P. S.—I have now in the hands of the Engraver and Printer the hymns of our morning and evening prayers set to their respective chants, together with 35 original hymns (all in prose according to the primitive custom) adapted to all our festivals, selected from Scripture, and set to music likewise.

The edition of this work is to be 1000 copies, at 2 sh. each to Subscribers.

ETTWEIN TO SMITH.

18. Aug. 1794.

Rev^{d} and Dear Sir,

I received your favour of the 2nd inst. enclosed in a letter from M^{r} Handy with an application for the admission of his Daughters into our boarding School for Girls. I also

communicated your Letter to the Inspector, the Rev[d] Jacob Van Vleck, who will answer Mr. Handy's Letter. The School is quite full and there are so many applications on the List of the Inspector that if he will strictly follow the Rules of admission, he cannot promise one place for a very long time. But he has in several such Instances made some exception in favour of Widowers, and will also do for M[r] Handy as much as he possibly can do.[31]

I love and revere your pious zeal to promote a visible Union among the Episcopalians, Methodists, etc. It would certainly be an honour to Christianity if all Dissensions did vanish.

But I doubt of seeing that time and fear that nothing less than a general persecution of true believers will make us all unite under one Banner of Christ, to confess Him our glorious Head and Chief, our Lord, our God, our Redeemer.

It seems the time of the great Apostacy, foretold by the Holy Spirit & the Apostles of our Lord, is come. The Lord of Glory who has bought us with His own blood to be His people is by many desired. Therefore all who profess themselves to be His Servants shall unite and stand firm to the Truth against all Enemies of Christ and the sure Word of God. If our fellowship is with God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, we shall certainly be in his eyes one Soul, Body & Spirit, tho' we are called and distinguished by this and another name. The new Society in New York where the Ministers of all the Churches in that City have united for promoting Christian Knowledge & piety, confessing the essential Truths of our Holy Religion, gives a good prospect of that Unity you are wishing and labouring for.[32]

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[31] The names of three of his daughters, Mary, Jane and Mehitable, appear in the catalogue of the school as entered in 1794.

[32] The New York Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and Piety in 1795 sent a letter to the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen proposing to enter into fraternal correspondence. This letter was read at the sixth general meeting of the S. P. G. held at Bethlehem on Aug. 21 of that year. A copy of the reply, dated Sept. 12 and signed by John Ettwein, Pres. *p. t.* and Jacob Van Vleck, Secretary, giving a historical sketch and general survey of the Missions of the Moravian Church then existing, and a statement of the manner in which they were supported and administered, is preserved among Ettwein's papers, together with a copy of the Articles of the N. Y. Association in German.

I will continue to wish and pray that the glorious time may soon come, when all true believers, as one flock, shall be manifested, under Christ the only Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls. By faith in our Lord Jesus Christ you and I and Frederick Smith will be and remain this Body's Members, firmly united in Him. Without Him can be no true Unity or Oneness so ardently prayed for by Him, John 17.

In this bond of love I remain
Rev^{d} & Dear Sir
Your affectionate B^{r} in Christ
and Fellow laborer in the Work,
John Ettwein.

P. S.—B^{r} Frederick Smith will be directed to subscribe for some of your new Hymn books.

PRESIDENT STILES[20] OF YALE COLLEGE TO FREDERICK SCHMIDT.

Yale College, Febry 10, 1787.

Reverend & D^{r} Sir

Altho I received your Letter of 14th June with the two Books on 19th July following yet I deferred an Answer until our Commencement in September, when I might have Opportunity to inform the Fellows of the College at their anniversary Meeting, and in their Name express our Gratitude and Thanks for the Donation of the Volume of Reverend Bp.

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[20] Dr Ezra Stiles, who was President of Yale College from 1778 to his death in 1795, has been called "the most learned and accomplished divine in his day in this country." He gave much attention to various scientific subjects, and was the first man in New England to follow up Franklin's discoveries and experiment with electricity. He also did much towards introducing and developing new industries, hence his interest in silkworm culture, as shown in his correspondence with Bishop Ettwein. His acquaintance with the Brethren dated from the period of his long pastorate at Newport, 1756–77. He visited Bethlehem and Nazareth in 1791.

The Rev. Frederick Schmidt, who delivered the books referred to for Ettwein, with the compliments of the Brethren at Bethlehem, was born at Lübeck in Holstein, August 4, 1724, joined the Brethren 1739, served the Church in Germany, Holland, England and Ireland, was ordained a Deacon in England in 1761, married the widow Gross at Herrnhut, 1764, and then came with her to America, was stationed at Newport, R. I. 1764–66, where his wife died 1765, was married again 1766 to Sarah Bailey at Bethlehem, labored at Oldman's Creek, N. J. 1766–83, and then a second time at New-

Spangenberg's Exposition of Christian Doctrine, and Mr. Cranz's History of the Brethren, which Donation was very acceptable. And I have it in Command to return the Thanks of the President and Fellows or Corporation of the University to the Unitas Fratrum at Bethlehem for the Gratuity and Benefaction with which they have honoured us; and to inform them that the Books are deposited in their Name in the public Library.

You will be pleased, Sir, to express this to them, and also to accept the Thanks of the College yourself for your kind and friendly Offices upon this Occasion. I count it a happy Circumstance in my Life that previous to my Removal to the Presidency of this College, I should have had an Acquaintance at Newport with the Brethren there, and particularly with yourself and the venerable Mr. Russmeyer. I thence learned not only favourable but very friendly and fraternal Ideas of the Constitution of the United Brethren; and for a long time have had and still have a cordial Affection for them, & esteem them a pure & excellent Branch of the Christian Church. As Professor of Ecclesiastical History in this College I exhibit the Hist^{y} of the Church for the three first Centuries—the Period of the Reformation—the American Churches of all Denominations. I finish this course once in three or four years in weekly public Lectures in the College Chapel before the whole Body of Students. I make it a part of

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port, 1783–1803, having been ordained a Presbyter at Bethlehem 1790, retired 1803 to Hope, N. J. where he died October 11, 1805. He had no children.

The Rev. Albrecht Ludolf Russmeyer was the son of an attorney-at-law in Lüneburg, Hannover, where he was born March 14, 1715, his mother being of a French Huguenot family. He was educated at the Latin school of his native village and under the care of an uncle, a Doctor of Theology at Greifswalde, his father having died, and later lived eight years with this uncle studying jurisprudence and theology. There he met David Nitschmann and was attracted to the Brethren's Church. He went to Herrnhaag 1748, spent several years in the Theological Seminary at Marienborn and Barby, went to England, 1752, came to America 1753, was ordained a Deacon February 24, 1754, and served as German preacher in Philadelphia till May, married Mary Evans at Bethlehem, July 15, 1754, was stationed at Lancaster 1755, later for several years at Warwick (Lititz), 1762 again at Lancaster, ordained Presbyter May 16, 1762, stationed at Newport, R. I. 1766–83, then *ad interim* five months in New York, a third time at Lancaster till February 1786, when he retired to Lititz where he died July 4, 1797. Of his four children only one daughter survived. She was married to Christian Schropp.

these Lectures to give the History of the Ancient Bohemian Ch. and the present Unitas Fratrum.

May I assure the Brethren that my Representations of them are friendly, fraternal and honorable. And this I do from no other Motive than sincere Affection to a Fraternity among whom I believe the Love of Jesus reigns in genuine Purity and Simplicity. May the Divine Immanuel ever dwell among them, influence & cement & bless them. My soul unites with them in loving the Lover of Souls, and in adoring the immaculate Lamb of God, the glorious Redeemer who has purchased the Church with His own Blood.

My Respects to your amiable Consort. I ask your Intercessions at the Throne of Grace for D[r] Sir

Your unworthy Brother in Christ
and affectionate Friend,
Ezra Stiles.

ETTWEIN TO PRESIDENT STILES.

Dr Ezra Stiles, Yale College New Haven, Conn.

Rev[d] Sir,

Your favour with some Silk Worm Eggs arrived in Bethlehem May 9 when the Worms just began to creep out.

Some years ago I raised a good deal of Silk in my family, but my visit in Europe and my Wife's decease caused me to drop it. [He attended the General Synod of 1789 at Herrnhut, during which his wife died.] One of our Brethren at Nazareth [David Zeisberger,] has continued to do something in that way, but finding his worms to degenerate he applied to Mr. Nathanael Green of Newport to provide him new Seed, which he received by your favour. He told me that his New England Worms seemed much stronger than his Nazareth brood. He tends the Worms himself, reels the Cocoons and prepares the Silk for the needle, and has promised me a specimen of it for you when he has finished for this year.

I am
June 24, 1793 Rev[d] Sir
your humble Serv[t]
John Ettwein

P. S. Excuse me that I did not sooner acknowledge the Receipt of yours.

I was absent from Bethlehem several weeks.

3. Aug. 1793.

Doct^r Ezra Stiles,

Rev^d Sir,

In a former letter I informed you of the receipt of the Silkworm Eggs. We had a wet Season which is unfavourable for raising Silkworms. But Mr. Zeisberger[21] at Nazareth was nevertheless pretty lucky with the N. England Seed. He sent me the enclosed silk for you as a small return for the Eggs. Mr. Gervais of N. York is so kind as to take it from me to forward to you.

I sent some time ago by way of N. York a Packet to M^r Benjamin Trumbull[22] at North Haven containing answers to some questions for a General History of America. I fear he has not received it and I should be sorry if it had been lost.

Wishing you all desirable Blessing
I remain with Love & Esteem
Your humble Serv^t
[John Ettwein]

I was in Lititz last May and saw Mr & Mrs Russmeyer,[23] happy and in tolerably good health. Remembering our outward [distant] friends, Lovers and Confessors of Christ, your dear name was not forgot and Mr Russmeyer desired me since they heard I had a letter from you, if I should write to M^r E. Stiles to remember their sincere and affectionate Respect and Love to him.[24]

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[21] A son of Melchior Zeisberger, one of the five "Kirchenmänner" who figure in the history of May 12, 1724, and a cousin of the distinguished missionary of the same name, born at Herrnhut May 25, 1730, ordained a Deacon July 5, 1756, came to America 1761, served the church at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, ordained a Presbyter May 7, 1780, finally located at Nazareth as "Gemeinhelfer" or Senior Minister, where he died May 19, 1798.

[22] See Ettwein's letter to Dr. Trumbull with note.

[23] See letter of President Stiles to the Rev. Frederick Schmidt with note.

[24] The several letters of Dr. Stiles to Bishop Ettwein have disappeared, probably, like many other letters, by the hands of autograph hunters, in the days when matter of this kind was at the mercy of persons with more antiquarian taste than conscience.

The traditional inclination to experiment in silk worm culture lingered about Bethlehem and Nazareth until far into the present century. A monograph on the subject of the silk industry at Bethlehem and neighborhood, from the establishment of Christian Philip Bader's cocoonery in the Brethren's House in 1752, to the erection of John D. Cutter's silk mill in 1888, is in process of preparation for future publication.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH.[32]

(A TRANSLATION.)

HISTORY OF THE SO-CALLED ST. JAMES' CHURCH (JACOBI KIRCHE) IN WARWICK TOWNSHIP, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

During the time that Mr. Lawrence Nyberg, a Swedish theologian, was Lutheran pastor at Lancaster and preached such stirring sermons, a number of awakened persons frequently went from Warwick Township to Lancaster to hear him.

They entered into an agreement to build a church near George Klein's farm for Mr. Nyberg to preach in.

George Klein, John Bender, Jacob Scherzer and Hartman Verdriess took the lead in this undertaking, and a number of persons from among the Reformed and the Mennonites who heard him with pleasure supported it. Mr. Nyberg consecrated the church on St. James' Day (July 25), 1744, and for this reason it came to be called St. James' Church. As long as he remained in the neighborhood he preached in it once or twice a month to a mixed multitude, consisting of Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites and Dunkards. Leonhard Schnell, [David] Bruce and other Brethren who passed that way also preached in it, and in the following year 1745 Daniel Neubert came from Bethlehem to live there, at the solicitation of the awakened persons in the neighborhood. George Klein, Scherzer, Kiesel, Heie and others built a school house and meeting house on George Klein's land, one mile from the church.

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[32] This Church is mentioned in the *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz, 1742–75*, by H. A. Brickenstein, Transac. Hist. Soc. Vol. II, p. 344, and in *The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum) commonly called Moravians, in North America, A.D. 1734–1748*, by L. T. Reichel, p. 189. The details given in this sketch, written by Bishop Ettwein about 1785, are not known to have been published elsewhere.

When Mr. Nyberg did not come to preach Daniel Neubert usually delivered a discourse in the church on Sunday, but did not go into the pulpit because he was not ordained and had not been educated for the ministry.

Because Mr. Nyberg associated with the United Brethren and attended their Synod in Lancaster, his opponents would no longer permit him to preach in the Lutheran Church in Lancaster, and so he entered into full connection with the Brethren.[33]

Thereupon his adherents in Warwick agreed together to take up the land on which St. James' Church stood and thus get possession of the church. To this end George Klein, John Bender and Jacob Scherzer had secured a warrant for three acres of land. Being informed that they could not get a patent for so small a piece of land, George Klein, with the concurrence of the others, included it in a survey which he had made for himself on a warrant for thirty acres. William Parson made a memorandum to the return with which the warrant for the three acres was sent, to the effect that George Klein, by agreement with the Congregation, had included the three acres in his survey, and that if George Klein produced written evidence of such agreement the three acre warrant should be null and void. Inasmuch as George Klein had secured a patent for thirty-two and a half acres in which the three acres were included, and a marginal note "not to issue" was made in the warrant book to the three acre warrant, it would be supposed that satisfaction had been rendered at the time; and it is inconceivable how, after the lapse of thirty-eight years, a disturber of the peace who had nothing to do with the matter should get possession of the three acre warrant. George Klein executed a conveyance of two parcels of ground for religious purposes. The names of the petitioners for the three acre warrant and the names of those to whom he made the conveyance reveal what was intended for a Lutheran Congregation.

Why no declaration of trust exists I do not know. So much I do know, however, that at that time, or during the time immediately subsequent, many Brethren were of the opinion that all titles to such lands were more securely vested in one or another Brother in whom confidence could be placed and from whom a declaration of trust was taken, than in a number of elected Trus-

[33] See note page 54.

tees who, if they happened to be put under Church discipline, might become disaffected and gather a faction, of which they had an instance at that very time in Tulpehoken. I presume that on this account, and because Mr. Nyberg had removed out of the country and gone to England, George Klein included the land intended for a church and school house in the deed which he made for all of his lands to Timothy Horsefield. The Warwick Brethren's Congregation has had peaceable possession of the church and of the land for thirty-eight years. No Lutheran pastor or member of the Lutheran Church in the Township has ever wasted a word about it.

About twenty years ago when the wooden church had become very much dilapidated the minister requested the congregation to repair it, and especially to put a new roof on it. But because their regular services were now held in Lititz, and the church was only made use of on the occasion of funerals, standing as it did alongside of the graveyard, they had no disposition to do so, and the minister had to consent to the action of the Stewards or Church Wardens, who sold the timber in it that was yet sound for £10 and used the money in the removal of their school house to Lititz—which was done with the concurrence of the families who had contributed material to the building of the church, but had not connected themselves with the Congregation at Lititz.

The graveyard adjoining the church is yet set apart for the use of the Warwick families and is kept fenced and in order by them. In other particulars the Warwick congregation is connected with that of Lititz and has the same minister. For a long time a belligerent neighbor, Peter Weinland or Weiland, has sought to vex the Brethren in Lititz, and wanting to trench upon the tract sold by George Klein but unable to do so because of the older warrant and patent of George Klein, he tries to gain his point with this church land. Besides this a certain Doctor Freylinghausen, who came to Lititz with an affected air of piety and wished to locate and practice there but was not admitted, entered into an agreement with a neighboring resident, John Huber, and the three formed a plan to recover the above mentioned three acres of land. The Doctor pretended that he wished to purchase it of the Lutheran Congregation or to pay a liberal ground rent and build upon it, and the effort was made to enlist the support of

several Lutheran people. The Doctor is a Lutheran but not a resident. Jacob Huber, the father of John, having formerly been a Mennonite and latterly connected with no denomination, there are doubts as to whether John has been baptized. At all events, it is certain that he is not a member of the Lutheran Church unless he has just lately become one.

Peter Weinland was also connected with the Mennonites, but for many years past has held aloof from all religion and has borne a very questionable reputation throughout the neighborhood. John Huber got his brother-in-law, who is a warden in a Lutheran Congregation in a remote part of the township, involved in the affair. He however said at once [upon hearing the true state of things]: "If I had rightly understood the matter, I should not have come to Lititz on this account."

Warwick is a large township and the majority of the population are Mennonites, Brethren (Moravians) and Reformed. I am not unacquainted with the neighborhood of Lititz, and I would not know where to find even four or five Lutheran households who live within three miles of the place. At the township line in the direction of Elizabeth Furnace there is a Lutheran church which is ministered to, along with several others, by a certain Mr. Schultze. In the other direction towards Manheim there is a small tract of land donated for the purpose of a Lutheran church, the deed to which a certain N. N. has in custody.

Hitherto only educated Lutheran clergymen have visited Lititz. The Augsburg Confession is annually read as our confession of faith. Lutheran doctrine is preached there, and everybody is welcome to come and hear it gratis. If Lutheran neighbors should really be found who wish to bury their dead on that spot, a portion of it can be placed at their disposal. In that case, however, they should contribute towards maintaining the fences. Nay more, when on occasion of such funerals a Lutheran pastor from elsewhere wishes to preach a funeral sermon, the use of the church at Lititz will not be refused him by the minister there, unless there is some special reason for such refusal.

John Ettwein.

TRANSACTIONS WITH THE SENECA CHIEFS, CORNPLANTER, HALF-TOWN, AND BIG TREE, AT PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 1791.[34]

I had the pleasure of meeting three Seneca Chiefs at the house of the Governor and was asked to address them, as one of the Brethren in whom they would place confidence. I also called upon President Washington and expect to present a petition to the Assembly in reference to a tract of land for the use of the Indian Mission.

I addressed the Seneca Chiefs, Cornplanter, Half-Town and Big-Tree in the following words:

"Brothers! It is most pleasing to me that God our Lord has brought us together to-day in the city of Philadelphia, which means brotherly love, where we may converse together as friends.

"The Sachems and Headmen of the Six Nations and the Chiefs and Headmen of the United Brethren who live at Bethlehem made a treaty of friendship together nearly fifty years ago.

[34] In the Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. IV, under "Papers relating to the Defence of the Frontiers, 1790–1796," are published interesting reports of the Indian Conference at Philadelphia in January 1791, with the speeches of "Cornplanter, Half-Town and Big Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation to the great Councillor of the 13 fires," (the President of the United States), but one episode, the interview of Bishop Ettwein, representing the Society for Propagating the Gospel, with these Chiefs, as given above, which took place at the house of Governor Mifflin on the Festival of the Epiphany (Jan. 6), observed in the Moravian Church as a missionary day, is not mentioned. The above is Ettwein's report of the interview, sent to the Brethren at Bethlehem and preserved with the annexed extract from the *Daily Avertiser*, which, together with the reports in the Penna. Archives, and the interview had with the Chiefs by Ettwein with the sanction of the authorities, presents the better spirit which was permitted to prevail at times in transactions with the Indians a century ago.

"Several of our leading men visited the Senecas in their towns and a few of our Brethren lived some years in Onandaga in order to learn the Maqua language so that they could preach the word of God to the six nations, the Word which alone gives us wisdom in the things pertaining to our eternal welfare.

"Brothers! I am glad that God has opened your eyes to discern what is good for you and your children, and that He has inclined your hearts to follow the white people in establishing a settled mode of life, to secure teachers who will instruct your children in reading, writing and other useful things, and preachers who will proclaim the gospel among the Senecas.

"Brothers! Through me the United Brethren renew and again make manifest the bond of friendship with you in the presence of the Governor of this State. You can depend upon our sincere love and our readiness to serve you as far as God gives us ability.

"Brothers! If any of our Teachers, or any of the Christian Indians in fellowship with the United Brethren come among you, do not suspect them of evil but receive them with open arms as friends. For God's sake and for the sake of your own souls do not hinder the messengers of God in proclaiming the forgiveness of sins, eternal life and salvation to all who believe in the Name of Jesus Christ and are willing to learn His ways.

"Brothers! By your consent to have the Word of God preached to the Senecas you will make a great name for yourselves in time to come, you will save your nation and make it a happy people. My wish is that God our Saviour may grant you this together with all blessings you may desire for yourselves."

On January 14 the Seneca Chief Cornplanter, through his interpreter, Mr. Nicholson, said in reply:

"Father! We intended yesterday to give you a written reply, but failed to secure a clerk.

"Father! Your words are very good. They have pleased us and have been agreeable to us. When I reach home I will summon a great council and repeat your words to them. Your Brothers, if any of them come to us, shall be well received.

"I will make a good soft bed for them among those who are inclined to receive instruction until others also desire to learn.

"Father! When I have made a good bed, I will return you an explicit answer."

The interpreter said the meaning is that a place at which to preach and keep school shall be selected and set apart.

Mr. Allen said, to make a bed means among the Senecas to furnish a settled abode, but when they say "I will set you a chair," this merely signifies a kind reception for the time being.

EXTRACT FROM THE PHILADELPHIA DAILY ADVERTISER, MAY 5, 1791.

"The following Statement of the Transactions of the General Government in relation to the Indian Tribes will also furnish the means of forming just Ideas of the present posture of Indian affairs. The measures adopted by the General Government relative to the Indian Tribes within the limits of the U. S. are replete with moderation, justice and humanity. Philosophers and the intelligent part of the human race approve the wisdom of such conduct, while its opposers will consist entirely of people of a different description.

"Instead of an oppressive System having for its object the extirpation of a race of men more sinned against than sinning, it appears to be the design of the General Government to impart to the Indians, who were the original Lords of the Soil, all the blessings of life of which their Situation will admit, and to lead them by degrees to a more settled and civilized mode of existence.

"Waving the consideration of civilizing the Indians, which by many is deemed impracticable, the policy of observing a liberal and humane conduct towards them cannot be well denied. It may be safely affirmed that the expence of conciliating and attracting all the neighboring Indians to the Interest of the United States for a period of 50 years would not be so great as the expences of one campaign against either the Creeks or the Choctaws.

"The Treaty with the Creeks at New York on the 7th of August 1790 has been reprobated by Land jobbers, interested individuals and some of the Inhabitants of Georgia. But the enlightened Citizens of America highly approve of the Treaty, as the ground work of attaching the Creeks, and the whole body of Southern

Indians, to the Interests of the United States upon principles entitled to the approbation of the disinterested part of mankind.

"The supreme Executive of the U. S. has also taken measures to secure the Choctaws and Chikesaws in their attachment to the U. S. and a Treaty is to be held during the present year with the Cherokees. Indeed there is the finest prospect of not only making a permanent peace with all the Southern Nations of Indians, but of attaching them to the interest of the United States. The warriors of the Creeks are estimated at 6000, the Choctaws at 5000, the Chikesaws at 1300 and the Cherokees at 2500, in all nearly 15000 Warriors.

"The value of their friendship is to be estimated by the expence of their enmity, independent of the disgrace attendant upon the Injustice of attempting to deprive them of their lands against the faith of the United States stipulated by solemn Treaties. It were devoutly to be wished that, in turning our eyes to the regions N. W. of the Ohio, the same prospects of peace appeared.

"Notwithstanding the provocations of these Indians, it is said measures have been taken to open their eyes to their true situation and if possible to induce them to peace, without the necessity of an active campaign against them; but if the measures taken for this purpose should be in vain, the meekness of Christianity will justify the Government in taking effectual measures to prevent the murder of its peaceable citizens.

"The arrangements made, and which are in Train of Execution will in all probability be entirely adequate to the full conviction of the hostile Indians, that they have abundantly more to hope from the mercy than to expect from the weakness of the United States."

ETTWEIN TO BENJAMIN TRUMBULL.[35]

March, 1793.

Honoured Sir,

Here follows a brief Account of the Unitas Fratrum, in Answer to your Questions, received by the Brethren at Beth-

[35] The Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, D.D. of North Haven, Conn., Grandfather of ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull, of Chicago, Ill. He was pastor at North Haven nearly sixty years. The second edition of his "*General History of the United States.*" in 3 vol's, to which Bishop Ettwein contributed material, was published in 1810.

lehem from the Rev^{d} M^{r} Marshall in Philadelphia. I have tried to answer each fully and clearly, and by that I have been too prolix, which you will excuse. The intention is no other but to give you full information and materials from which you may take what you choose for your General History. It has been observed that many persons ground what they speak and write about the Brethren upon testimony of their Adversaries which is not true either in the whole nor in part. For instance Mr. Marshall has done so in his Catechism[36] and the Editors of a Magazine at Elizabethtown in New Jersey.

The United Brethren are therefore greatly obliged to you, Sir, that you were so kind as to desire the Brethren themselves to give you an Account of that which you wanted to know.

As the answers are partly taken from German publications, you will be kind enough to excuse the flaws and germanisms in the style.

Though they are not much polished, they are strictly true. Wishing you health and strength of soul and body to complete your General History, I am with high Esteem

Honoured Sir

Your humble Serv^{t}

John Ettwein

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[36] "Religious Instruction to the Rising Generation, a Catechism for Youth, containing the Principles of Practical Religion; Agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures Exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. To which is added Catechetical Explanation of Sundry Terms belonging to Religion, Alphabetically Digested: In which are specified the distinguishing Tenets of the various Denominations of Christians and religious Sects that now appear.

By William Marshall, A.M., Minister of the Gospel to the Scots Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.

Philadelphia: Printed for the Author and sold by Robert Aitkin, in Market Street. MDCCLXXXIV. 12mo., pp. iv, 172."

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

WIDOWS' HOUSE AT BETHLEHEM, PA.,

1768–1892.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

"It shall be to Me a name of joy, a praise and an honor, before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them."—Jer. 33, 9.—(Text of the Dedication Address, October 12, 1768.)

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PREFATORY NOTE.

Three plates of illustrations—the first devoted to the original building, and the second and the third, respectively, to the exterior and the interior of the annex—have been contributed by friends, to be used in this pamphlet and also in the Memorial Volume which the Moravian Church at Bethlehem will publish in commemoration of the Third Jubilee of its establishment on June 25, 1742.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE WIDOWS' HOUSE AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

From the establishment of the Moravian Church in the Province of Pennsylvania, our forefathers, appreciating that helplessness and old age should be the objects of a peculiar tenderness and sympathy, introduced the plan adopted by the Mother Church, by which there could be but little poverty and no destitution among those who had devoted their best years or lives to her service. The same spirit, therefore, which led to the erection of the other "Choir Houses" in Bethlehem, led to the building of the Widows' House, which for nearly a century and a quarter has afforded its inmates the comforts of a retired home.

Nazareth was the seat of the first Widows' Œconomy of the Moravian Church in America, and the humble building which sheltered our pilgrim fathers on the "Barony," became the residence of those "old mothers of the Church" who had been bereft of husband and home. You may see it to-day, embowered among the trees which separate it from the "stone house Ephrata." Prior to the organization of their Œconomy, the widows of the Church were scattered among the congregations, engaged in various capacities. Those at Bethlehem resided in the house for "Married People," (on the site of the present Church), and in the "Clergyhouse," while in the "Nursery" and in the school at Nazareth a number were employed.

In the Spring of 1755, the Choir was formed, and Nazareth designated as its seat. On May 1, wagons were sent down to Bethlehem from Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring to transfer the eleven widows with their effects to Nazareth. At 10 o'clock on the morning of May 2, they reached their destination, escorted by Sister Catharine Huber, of Nazareth, and were at once conducted by Bro. Heckewelder (the father of the well-known missionary among the Indians) to their house, where Bro. Lembke cordially welcomed them by singing a hymn. With the widows of Nazareth, at noon, they attended a service in the Chapel of the "Whitefield House," in which the hymn: "Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund," was sung with instrumental accompaniment. "The widows," writes the chronicler of Nazareth, "were very happy, and thankful for their house, which they had not expected would be so pleasant."[1]

The following day (Saturday, May 3), they witnessed the laying of the corner-stone of Nazareth Hall—from the variety of nationalities present, one of the most notable Moravian gatherings in America. Scarcely had they become settled in their new home, before one of their number was removed by death. On June 5, the aged Sister Elizabeth Banister, mother of Jasper Payne, was called to her eternal home. She was born in England in 1669, and accompanied her son to Pennsylvania, with the "Second Sea Congregation."

Before the close of the year, Nazareth became crowded with the inhabitants of the remoter settlements of Old Northampton, who fled thither for safety from the disaffected Indians in the service of France, who were murdering and devastating the country along the line of the

[1] "At last the Widows have the satisfaction of being able to live by themselves, and have their own Choir arrangements, which has hitherto been quite impossible."—*Bethlehem Diary, May 1755.*

Blue Mountains. To afford accommodations for these panic-stricken refugees, on December 1, the Widows' Choir, which had been increased by the arrival some weeks before of Rosina Endter, widow of George Endter, who died at the mission in Berbice, and Ann Elizabeth Leinbach and Catharine Weber, from Oley, gave up their house and were transferred to Gnadenthal, where they remained until the ensuing Summer.

These are the names of those who composed the first "Widows' Œconomy:"

Catharine Huber, Deaconess;

Gertrude Bonn,	Maria Hauser,
Catharine Brownfield,	Elizabeth Hertzer,
Rosina Endter,	Judith Shurr,
Ann M. Lehnert,	Regina Hantsch,
Elizabeth Ronner,	Rosina Muenster,
Catharine Weber,	Ann E. Leinbach,
Sarah Leighton,	Rosina Schuts,
Magdalena E. Reiss,	Ann Mary Demuth.

With the exception of adverting to the dedication of the Chapel in Nazareth Hall, November 13, 1756, on which festival occasion the widows were present and for the first time wore the white ribbon in their caps as the insignia of their Choir, (which regulation was continued to the Synod of 1818), we pass on in our history to the Summer of 1766, when we find that the Choir, "were much rejoiced at the action of the Synod held in Bethlehem, in resolving to build a Widows' House in Bethlehem, the commencement of which would probably be made during the following Spring."

By the year 1760, the house at Nazareth becoming too small for the Choir, and the aged members finding the distance to the chapel in Nazareth Hall (since 1756 the sanctuary of the congregation), too great in inclement

weather to attend the services, the matter was brought up in a Congregation Council at Bethlehem, when it was proposed to erect a building adjoining the Sisters' House for their accommodation. Temporary relief, however, was afforded by transferring several widows from the Whitefield House to the Burnside plantation, near Bethlehem.[2]

The Synod which convened at Bethlehem, May 3 to June 4, 1766, recommended the building of a Widows' House in Bethlehem, and that collections be made in all the congregations of the Province, and donations solicited in Europe. Two weeks thereafter, a lengthy communication, signed on behalf of the Choir by Sister Werwing, the Deaconess, praying for united action on the part of all the congregations, was read to the communicant members at Bethlehem. By invitation of the Board of Wardens, on December 1, Sisters Werwing and Huber came down from Nazareth to select a site. The next day they selected the lot known as the "Congregation Garden," opposite to the Girls' School in the Sisters' House, in dimensions 121 feet 6 inches front, by 200 feet in depth, whereupon the Wardens passed a resolution to erect a building the following Spring, and appointed Abraham Boemper superintendent and treasurer of the building fund. On January 8, 1767, the plan of the building, to be 78x44 feet, was approved, and on April 27, the masonwork was ready for the laying of the corner-stone. The day prior to the ceremony Bro. Lembke and wife, with Bro. Peter, escorted a number of the widows from Nazareth, and early the next morning the remainder of the Choir left in wagons for Bethlehem.

Monday, April 27, 1767, proved to be a bright Spring day. When the Widows' Choir and the congregation

[2] In 1763, there were three widows in Bethlehem who were unable to join the Choir at Nazareth for want of room.

assembled in the chapel, Bro. Nathanael Seidel gave out as the first hymn:

"Unser Gottes Lämmelein
Ist in unsrer Mitte,
Er mag noch so ungeseh'n
Unter uns 'rum geh'n," u.s.w.

He then spoke with "unction" on the text of the day: "In Salem also is His tabernacle and His dwelling place in Zion," applying it to the laying of the corner-stone of the Widows' House, and asked the congregation to accompany the act with their prayers and blessings. Thereupon the document, in English and German, which was to be placed in the leaden box, was read. An English translation, to be found in the Bethlehem Archives, is as follows:

"After the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; during the mild reign of George III, King of Great Britain, our most gracious Sovereign; at the time of the governorship of the Honorable John Penn, Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania; also in the third year after the General Synod of the whole Brethren's Unity which convened at Marienborn, the first Synod after the departure on the 9th of May, 1760, of the memorable Servant of the Lord; by Virtue of the gracious consent of an Act of Parliament to the Evangelical Brethren's Unity; here in Bethlehem, in the presence and with the blessing of our beloved and reverend brethren Nathanael Seidel, the present Œconomus of the Brethren's congregations in North America, and Co-episcopus David Nitschmann, the elder, Bishop Math. Hehl, Episcopus Provincialis, John Ettwein, assistants at the present Œconomat, and Francis Christian Lembke, Ordinarius of the congregation at Nazareth, as well as with the sincere blessing of the whole congregation (now numbering 540 souls) and all the persons engaged in the service of the same N. N. on the 27th of April, when the Daily Word from the Brethren's Text Book was the following: 'In Salem also is His tabernacle and His dwelling place in Zion;' here in Bethlehem, in the Name of the Holy Trinity was laid this corner-stone to this Widows' House, the building of which had been decided upon in the year 1766. This place had been selected by the wise counsels of the Directors and Visitatores of that time and the authorized Deputy of the Directors, our beloved and honored brother David Nitschmann,

and the Synod then assembled here. In the presence of all the Widows, twenty-eight in number, N. N. among whom were the Widows' Labouresses, the Sisters Wilhelmine Werwing and Catharine Huber, and with the good wishes of the Widows' Labouress in New York, Eliza Ronner, the building was consecrated and dedicated to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He may bless, protect and care for all who will dwell therein; to the Son, slain for us, the Bridegroom of souls, that He may be the support of all the Widows and fill their hearts with a blessed hope and daily communion with Him and that He may fill the whole house with His presence; to the Holy Spirit, that He may preserve it as His holy temple to the end of days."

This was followed by the hymn:

"Ach auserwählter Heiland,
Du willst ja dass wir bleiben,
Drum segne jed' Revier wo wir eingezogen," u.s.w.,

whereupon all repaired to the site of the building, which they surrounded, while chorals were performed by the trombonists from the belfry on the north side of the street. An original hymn, composed for the occasion was next sung.

While the words, "In Thy Name we now lay the first stone," were being sung, Sisters Werwing and Huber approached the corner-stone, and during the singing of: "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son and the Holy Ghost," by the whole congregation, the corner-stone was laid and the leaden box with the documents was placed in it by Sister Werwing. As both sisters retired, the congregation again sang. Bro. Seidel then advanced to the stone and kneeling upon it offered up a prayer, imploring the protection of the Holy Trinity upon the Widows' Choir and their building. During the singing of the hymns:

"Dies Haus soll werden," u.s.w.,
"Mache dieses Hüttlein zum Exempel," u.s.w.,

two masons walled in the corner-stone. It was a solemn and impressive act, and the peace of God rested upon it from beginning to the end. The Widows' Choir re-

THE WIDOWS' HOUSE AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

Stairway in Upper Hall.
Looking out of the Front Door.

The Front Entrance.
A View from the North-west.

Stairway in Lower Hall.
Upper Corridor looking East.

turned to the chapel, where Bro. Seidel delivered a discourse to them. After all the members of the Choir with their officers had dined together, those from Nazareth departed with Bro. Lembke.

Andrew Schober and Martin Schenk were the master-masons, and Tobias Hirte, the master carpenter, employed in the erection of the Widows' House; all experienced mechanics whose ability had been tested in other settlements of the Church. By September 21 the rafters were raised and the roof covered with cedar shingles, purchased in Philadelphia; but it was not before the Autumn of 1768 that the building was in a condition to be dedicated or receive any inmates. Its final completion dates from October 11, 1768. The bell which hungs at the foot of the stairs on the first floor was cast by Tommerup, in 1770, in his foundry in the Brethren's House.

The entire cost of the Widows' House we have failed to ascertain definitely, but we have been able to compile a list of contributions of money, labor and materials, aggregating £1000, towards its erection, made between June of 1766 and June of 1769. It may here also be stated, that the first contribution for the erection of a Widows' House, was made by the widow of James Burnside, in 1758, when she allotted £50 for the purpose, out of the purchase money for the plantation she disposed of to the Church.

List of Contributions, Labor and Materials, for the erection of the Widows' House at Bethlehem, 1766–1769.

Robert Hussey,	£ 2	15	.
Joachim Birnbaum,	1	.	.
Richard Poppelwell,	1	.	.
A. H. Francke,	3	15	.
Thomas Fischer,	1	10	.
J. Matthew Otto,	2	10	.
J. G. Youngman,	.	7	6
Ludwig Huebner,	.	15	.

J. G. Nixdorf,	1	1	6
Jasper Payne,	.	15	.
Abraham Andres,	5	.	.
Daniel Kliest	1	.	.
Jacob Wiesinger,	2	.	.
George Klein,	2	2	.
George Geitner,	1	.	.
Valentine Fuehrer,	.	10	.
Marx Kiefer,	.	5	.
Ephraim Culver,	.	7	6
Timothy Horsfield,	5	.	.
J. F. Oberlin,	1	10	.
Anton Schmidt,	.	10	.
Frederick Boeckel,	1	10	.
George Huber,	1	.	.
Ludwig Stotz,	2	.	.
John Bechtel,	4	.	.
Peter Worbas,	2	10	.
Matthew Weiss,	3	.	.
Christian Richter,	1	.	.
Christian Werner,	.	16	.
Daniel Kunckler,	.	7	6
Henry Krause,	1	.	.
Godfrey Römelt,	1	.	.
Henry Miller,	1	.	.
Nicholas Garrison,	5	.	.
Gottlieb Lange,	1	10	.
C. J. Sangerhausen,	.	5	6
—— Mayer, (widow),	16	8	4
—— Balschen, (widow),	.	2	.
Christian Jacobsen,	3	.	.
John Green,	.	5	.
Valentine Haidt,	5	.	.
Christian Eggert,	1	.	.
J. Frederick Oerter,	1	10	.
—— Claus, (widow),	.	7	6
Thomas Schaaf,	.	10	.
Andrew Broksch,	1	.	.
Christian Stiemer,	1	.	.
Frederick von Marschall,	5	8	.
Paul Münster, a ground rent,	1	7	.
J. P. Thrane,	1	.	.
Abraham Boemper,	25	.	.
Ferdinand Detmers,	3	.	.
John Stoll,	1	.	.
An unknown Friend	.	7	6
Sister Werbegen,	1	.	.

Catharine Brownfield, (widow),	2	.	.
Johanna Dorothy Miller,	.	5	.
An unknown Friend	1	.	.
John M. Spohn,	3	.	.
John Ettwein,	1	10	.
John Brandmiller,	5	.	.
Henry Schoen,	3	.	.
F. C. Diemer,	1	10	.
Andrew Albright,	.	7	6
Just. Jansen,	.	3	9
William Edmonds,	3	.	.
Melchior Schmidt,	.	4	.
Adam von Erd,	.	15	.
Timothy Horsfield, jr.,	.	15	.
Regina Tanneberger, (widow),	.	2	.
Jacob Rubel, Schoeneck,	.	5	.
—— Walther,	1	.	.
Collected in New York,	37	13	4
" Single Brethren, Bethlehem,	51	17	4
" Diacony, Bethlehem,	4	.	.
" Sisters' House, Bethlehem,	25	15	5
" Oley,	.	6	.
" Manocacy,	3	17	6
" Lancaster,	51	2	6
" Donegal,	3	15	6
" Philadelphia,	35	7	4
" Lynn,	2	16	.
" Heidelberg,	3	17	.
" Paulin's Kill,	5	.	.
" Emmaus,	6	16	7
" Yorktown,	9	12	6
" Hebron,	2	5	.
" Bethabara,	9	10	3
" Lititz,	11	14	6
" " Sisters' House,	1	11	.
" " Diacony,	3	12	.
" " Single Brethren,	5	.	.
" Gnadenthal,	.	17	4
" Bethel,	.	15	.
" Europe,	82	16	2
" Nazareth,	34	11	9
" Nazareth, the Rose, and Friedensthal,	5	12	1
" Nazareth Hall,	3	.	.
Collected through John Arbo,	19	17	4
" " Jacob von der Merck,	9	7	6
" " John Ettwein,	15	.	.
" " Ferd. Detmers,	26	.	.
" " Nathanael Seidel,	74	.	.

Legacy of Bro. Braun, Hebron,	20	.	.
" Widow Graff, Lancaster,	50	.	.
Donation of Mary Burnside,	50	.	.
Loans of Barbara Braun,	7	.	.
" Conrad Gerhard,	20	.	.
" Sarah Ysselstein,	36	.	.
" Verona Miller,	6	.	.
" Christian Segner,	10	.	.
" Magdalena Graeff,	30	.	.
Bethlehem Diacony, gutterwood and shingles,	1	18	3
Christian's Spring Brethren, hauling 100 loads,	.	5	6
Gnadenthal Brethren, hauling 83 loads,	.	3	12
Nazareth Brethren, hauling 84 loads,	1	15	.
Barbara Fenstermacher, for the making of one room	50	.	.
Jacob Loesch, in labor,	3	.	.
Ludwig Huebener, for 10 loads stone,	.	19	2
" " for gutterwood,	.	4	6
" " for lime,	.	5	.
J. G. Youngman, for lime,	.	2	3
The Tannery, for lime,	.	2	3
Carl Schultz, for lime,	.	.	6
Caspar Fischer, for lime,	.	5	.
David Nitschmann, labor amounting to	5	.	.
Andrew ye Moor, labor two or three weeks,			
Michael Haberland, will work as much as possible.			
John Okely, two window frames,	.	7	6
Caspar Fischer, labor,	.	8	.
Anton Schmidt, labor,	.	18	.
Andrew Schober, labor,	.	7	.
Andrew Schober presents the corner-stone,	.	18	.
Francis Steup, labor,			

Before describing the ceremonies attending the dedication of the Widows' House, let us turn to the division of the Choir at Nazareth. At half-past 1 o'clock on October 8, 1768, the congregation assembled to celebrate a Communion Love-feast. "In the first place a solemn and affecting farewell service was held with the Widows, who to-day communed with the congregation for the last time. The Lord was thanked for the privilege of having the Choir with them almost fourteen years, to enjoy their love and kind services in many respects. At the same time, thanks were returned to the congregation for the love, faithfulness and assistance they had extended to the

Choir. Hymns of blessing were then sung, after which the Love-feast was held."

A special service with the widows was held October 11, in their prayer-hall, when Bro. Lembke made a short address, in which he referred to the most important occurrences during their sojourn at Nazareth, and then commended them to the Lord. At the close Bro. Lembke sung:

"So geht nun in des Herren Freud',
Und in der lieben Engel Geleit;
Die Gottes Familie sei euch nah!"

At 7 o'clock on the morning of October 12, the Widows, (after having on the preceding day bid farewell to the members of the congregation), set out for Bethlehem, accompanied by Bro. Lembke and wife, the Brethren Peter, Bader and Dencke, where they arrived at 10 o'clock. (The widow Brown, with her daughter, from Hebron, had also arrived.) When the Choir reached the Sun Inn, they were welcomed by several of the brethren in the name of the congregation, and escorted to the "Clergyhouse," while the hymn:

"Guten Tag und Friede und Gesundheit," u.s.w.,

was sung from the "Altan" of the Brethren's House. The whole Choir, twenty-eight in number, dined with the clergy of Bethlehem and Nazareth in the "Clergyhouse," namely: Maria Wilhelmina Werwing[3], Catharine Huber[4],

[3] Maria Wilhelmina Werwing, Deaconess, born September 9, 1721, at Baden-Durlach. Her father was Christian, Baron von Raschau, and her mother, Henrietta Louisa, Baroness von Closen. She met Zinzendorf in 1733, at her grandmother's in Würtemberg, and in 1737 went to Herrnhut, where she united with the Church. In 1743, she married Peter Werwing, pastor at Gnadenfrey, and subsequently labored with him in Sweden. Returning to Herrnhut, her husband died there in 1755. Appointed Deaconess of the Widows' Choir in the American Province, she came over in the *Hope*, in October of 1763. She died January 3, 1795.

[4] Catharine Huber, m. n. Butmansky, whose parents were Papists, was from Siedendorf, Moravia. She came to Herrnhut in 1725, and participated

Julia Benedicta von Gammern[5], Ann Maria Schropp[6],

in the Lord's Supper of August 13, 1727. Married first Frederic Riedel, who accompanied Bishop Spangenberg to Georgia in 1735. The year following she sailed for Savannah to join her husband, and on her arrival found he had died five months before. She used to relate that she found Spangenberg acting as cook for the colony, until relieved by herself, when he gave her all directions in detail how much rice and meat to use for a meal; that General Oglethorpe and others had often met him in the kitchen thus engaged. Here she married her second husband, Peter Rose, and with him labored among the Creek Indians, and subsequently in Germantown, where he died in March of 1740. Her third husband was John Michael Huber, who was lost at sea, on the passage to St. Thomas, in October of 1747. While the Widows' Choir was at Nazareth, she was for some time "Hausmutter" in the Nursery: in fine this remarkably energetic woman during her long and eventful life filled almost every position to which a sister could be appointed. She died at Bethlehem in February of 1798, in her 96th year, "the oldest Moravian in America and the one longest in the service." A portrait of her, painted by Haidt, is preserved in the Bethlehem Archives.

[5] Juliana Benedicta von Gammern, m. n. Mauersberg, was born March 21, 1717, in Silesia. In 1751 she married Abraham von Gammern, of Neusalz, and with him came to America on the *Hope*, in October of 1761. From Bethlehem, in 1762, they proceeded to Wachovia, where he died in November of 1765, at Bethabara. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, writing to the Rev. John Ettwein, at Bethabara, under date of November 10, 1763, says of him: "I have received a good deal of satisfaction from this short acquaintance with Mr. Von Gammern, and I wish he had enabled me to be more serviceable to him in his affairs; but I have told him frankly, that he may at all times lay his commands upon me, and I shall by some means or other strive to answer his expectations. He is very shrewd and understanding in business of merchandize, and I am persuaded will always give a good account of his stewardship." After the death of her husband, she returned to Bethlehem and was appointed Deaconess of the Widows' Choir. She died September 12, 1807.

[6] Ann Maria Schropp, m. n. Thommen or Tomet, was born April 13, 1719, at Basel, Switzerland. She married, first, Matthew Schropp, born March 21, 1722, in Bavaria, and with him came to Pennsylvania, with the "Second Sea Congregation," and settled at Nazareth, where he became Steward of the congregation. He was ordained a Deacon in 1748, and died at Bethabara, N. C., September 11, 1767. She left the Widows' House, August 23, 1778, to marry the Rev. John Wolfgang Michler, who was one of the original members of the "Widows' Society." He deceased October 5, 1785, at Hebron, Pa., and she, April 3, 1786, at Nazareth.

[7] Barbara Brown, m. n. Knecht, afterwards Wiesinger, was born March 6, 1735, in the Palatinate. She accompanied her uncle to St. Kitts, W. I., where she married her second husband, Brown, an Englishman. Here she

Barbara Brown[7], Elizabeth Ronner[8], Catharine Brownfield[9], Verona Miller[10], Mercy Salmons[11], Mariana

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was awakened by a Methodist clergyman. She accompanied her husband to Philadelphia, and thence to Lititz and Hebron, where he died. At the latter place she united with the Moravians. She entered the Widows' House at Nazareth, and in 1768, that at Bethlehem. In 1772, she married her third husband, J. J. Wiesinger, who died in 1790. From this date, she resided for ten years with a married daughter at Hope, N. J. She returned to the Widows' House in April of 1800, and died November 28, 1804. Her husband was one of the original members of the "Widows' Society." She was twice an inmate of the Widows' House—as the widow Brown and as the widow Wiesinger.

[8] Elizabeth Ronner, m. n. Fissler, born 1717 in Switzerland. She married in 1743, the Rev. John Reinhard Ronner, who was ordained a Deacon at Philadelphia, the same year, by Bishop Böhler. They labored in Philadelphia, Tulpehocken, Muddy Creek, the Minisinks and Warwick, and between 1750 and 1755 in the mission on St. Thomas. He died at Bethlehem in July of 1756. She went in 1760, to New York as Deaconess to the Widows' Choir. Removed to the Widows' House in 1770, and died there in February of 1771.

[9] Catharine Brownfield, m. n. Kearney, born in New York in 1718. She was one of the first converts made by Zinzendorf in Philadelphia, and was sent to Bethlehem in 1745. In 1746, she joined the Single Sisters' Choir at Nazareth, and the year following was married to John Brownfield, for some time the Secretary of General Oglethorpe, in Georgia, and since 1745, the bookkeeper of the Œconomy at Bethlehem. He died in April of 1752, and she in April of 1798.

[10] Verona Miller, m. n. Fry, born May 12, 1723, in Frederick township, now Montgomery County, Penna. During Zinzendorf's tour through the Province, she heard him preach in her father's house and at Henry Antes', and accompanied the Count and his suite to Germany in 1743. In 1744, she married Joseph Miller, at Herrnhaag, where they served in the congregation, and subsequently at Lindheim, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, and at other places. They came to America on the *Irene*, in 1749, and were stationed at Friedensthal and Gnadenthal. Her husband died at the latter place in March of 1761, and is known to those well read in the history of the "Barony of Nazareth," as a practitioner of minor surgery and the art of phlebotomy. She died at Bethlehem, from cancer of the face, August 10, 1780. Of her Cammerhoff has written: "Sie ist aus Oley zur Gemeine gekommen, und ist sonsten *robust* und *zur äusserlicher Arbeit* recht wohl zu gebrauchen."

[11] Mercy Salmons, m. n. Holy, born January 24, 1731, at Stratford, Connecticut. But little is known of the early years of her life, except that she married Salmons, who deserted her and her two children, and went to South Carolina, where he died. She lived near the Moravian congregation

Hoeth[12], Sarah Leighton[13], Rosina Fritsche[14], Rosina Muenster[15], Mary Hauser[16], Rosina Tanneberger[17],

at Sichem, New York, with which she subsequently united, and in 1763, removed to Bethlehem. Later she joined the Widows' Choir at Nazareth. At Bethlehem she earned her living by tailoring, and died November 10, 1803

[12] Mariana Hoeth, daughter of Frederick and Joanetta Hoeth, was born in May of 1737, near Zweibrücken. In 1748, she accompanied her parents to Philadelphia, where they united with the Moravian congregation. In 1752, her father purchased a tract of land in the present Monroe County, and removed his family thither. In December of 1755, part of the family were murdered by Indians, and Mariana was taken a captive to Tioga. Here she was forced to marry an Indian, by whom she had one son, who died in his fifth year. In 1762 she escaped with her son and reached Bethlehem, and united with the Widows' Choir at Nazareth. She died at Bethlehem in April of 1772.

[13] Sarah Leighton, m. n. Clifford, was born May 19, 1704, near Canterbury, England. In 1732, she married John Leighton, born in Scotland, and took charge of the school for children at Lamb's Inn. She came to America with the "Second Sea Congregation," in 1743, and served the congregations in Germantown, Philadelphia, Maryland, the Oblong and West Jersey. On account of her husband's poor health they moved to Bethlehem, where he died in August of 1756. She died April 11, 1785.

[14] Rosina Fritsche, m. n. Haus, married Paul Fritsche, of Moravia, in 1749, and came to Bethlehem with the "John Nitschmann colony." He died at Nazareth in November of 1765, after his removal from Friedensthal.

[15] Rosina Muenster, m. n. Nitschmann, was born November 24, 1706; married John Muenster in October of 1735, and came to America with the "Second Sea Congregation" in 1743. They labored in the Macungy School and at Friedensthal, where he died in May of 1754. She was a very busy worker and assisted on the Bethlehem farm till she was 80 years old. She died January 22, 1791.

[16] Mary Hauser, m. n. Schweitzer, was born May 15, 1692, in Switzerland. She married Adam Stohler, who died while they were preparing to emigrate to America. She settled in Germantown, where she married her second husband, Felix Hauser, who died fifteen months thereafter. In 1742, she attended the preaching of Count Zinzendorf, and removed to Bethlehem the same year. For a time she assisted in the school in Frederick Township. She died in April of 1774, the oldest resident of the Widows' House.

[17] Rosina Tanneberger, m. n. Leupold, was born September 7, 1702, in Bohemia, and for reading evangelical books was persecuted by the Papists, and fled to Herrnhut. She married first, in 1728, Gotthard Demuth, who accompanied Spangenberg to Georgia, in 1735. She followed her husband and remained there two years and four months. He died at Germantown in December of 1744. In 1745 she married her second husband, David

Geritje Bonn[18], Christina Segner[19], Maria Rosina Moeller[20], Rosina Kremser[21], Jane Prosky[22], Barbara Elizabeth Hertzer[23], Magdalena Elizabeth Reiss[24], Elizabeth Keller[25],

Tanneberger, Sr., from Moravia, who died at Bethlehem in July of 1760. For upwards of fifteen years she served as midwife, and died in February of 1774.

[18] Geritje Bonn, born in 1692, in Holland, emigrated to America in 1696, and was married in 1710 to Peter Bonn, of Skippach, who died in Bethlehem in 1745. She died February 18, 1779. She was the mother of "Pappy" Bonn, of happy memory.

[19] Christina Segner, daughter of William and Verona (Levering) Frey, born March 5, 1727, in Frederick township, Penna. She visited Bethlehem in 1747, where she was baptized. She married John Henry Segner in 1748, and served three years in the mission on St. Thomas, W. I. In 1753 they were stationed at Gnadenthal, where her husband died November 6, 1763. She died February 6, 1816, aged nearly 89 years.

[20] Maria Rosina Moeller, m. n. Dietrich, was born October 19, 1722, at Torpisch, Silesia. She united with the congregation at Herrnhut in 1736. In 1743 she married John Henry Moeller, and came to Pennsylvania with the "Second Sea Congregation," and was one of the original members of the Nazareth congregation. He conducted the Antes' mill for the benefit of the school at Frederick, and labored at Heidelberg, Lynn and Oley. In 1759, he was appointed Vorsteher of the Girls' School at Bethlehem. He died in 1760, and she August 5, 1808.

[21] Rosina Kremser, m. n. Obersdorf, was born June 3, 1719, in Kreuzwertheim im Franconia. In 1741, with her mother, she united with the congregation at Herrnhaag. She married Andreas Kremser in 1742, and came with him to Pennsylvania, with the "Second Sea Congregation." He was the Vorsteher at Frederick School, Nazareth and Friedensthal, where he died October 9, 1769. She died of dropsy, July 11, 1798.

[22] Jane Prosky, born in London, 1720. She married George Prosky, a German member of the London congregation. They labored in Yorkshire, in 1743, and at Holbeck, near Leeds, in 1744, and in the Jamaica, W. I., mission. Here her husband died in 1763. She came to Bethlehem, and died there March 24, 1771.

[23] Barbara Elizabeth Hertzer, m. n. Linck, born December 26, 1697, in Würtemburg, came with her husband from Herrnhut with the "Second Sea Congregation." They labored in the schools and rural congregations. He died at Quitopehille in May of 1749, and was buried at Hebron, (Lebanon). She died at Bethlehem, October 16, 1776.

[24] Magdalena Elizabeth Reiss, born 1701, in Heilbronn, Würtemberg. With her husband, she united with the Moravians, and moved to Herrnhaag, where he died in 1743. She came to Pennsylvania in 1749, and died October 24, 1769—the first to die in the Widows' House.

[25] Elizabeth Keller, a member of the congregation at Heidelberg, to which she subsequently returned.

Mary Ann Jorde[26], Mary Hirt[27], Barbara Fenstermacher[28], Mary Catharine Schnall[29], and Ann Liebisch[30].

At 2 o'clock the trombonists, from the belfry, summoned the congregation to assemble in the upper floor of the building, intended for the dormitory, where the commemorative Love-feast was to be held. The Helpers' Conference were present by special invitation. The hymn:

"Eure Ankunft segne Gott,
Euren Einzug gleichermassen,"

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[26] Mary Ann Jorde, m. n. Horne, born 1718 at Lochenbach, Anspach, came to Pennsylvania with her husband, John Jorde, with the "Second Sea Congregation," and settled at Nazareth. He died at Bethlehem in April of 1760, and she in March of 1782. For many years she was employed at the Sun Tavern.

[27] Mary Hirt, m. n. Beroth, born August 7, 1732, at Oppa in the Palatinate, of Reformed parents, descended from the Huguenots. She came to Pennsylvania in 1738, and settled on Creuz Creek, near York, Pa. She came to Bethlehem in 1751, and was married April 17, 1757, to Martin Hirt. He united with the congregation at Gnadenhütten in 1749, and after his marriage removed to Nazareth. His widow married Herman Loesch, (as his third wife) in 1779, who was miller at Bethlehem from May 1781 to his death in 1791. She died September 15, 1813. Twice, as the widow Hirt and as the widow Loesch, she was an inmate of the Widows' House.

[28] Barbara Fenstermacher, was a native of Rhenish Bavaria, and was born March 28, 1709. Her first husband was Michael Leibert, a Roman Catholic, who died in Philadelphia in September of 1742, and was buried in St. Joseph's ground. She united with the Moravian Church in 1743. In May of 1749, she married Christian Fenstermacher, also one of the first members of the congregation in Philadelphia. In 1764 they removed to Lititz, where he became storekeeper, dying in 1768. After suffering for six years with paralysis, she died in December of 1790.

[29] Mary Catharine Schnall, m. n. Gemehle, was born September 22, 1722, in Wetteravia. She lost her mother in 1728, and came to Pennsylvania with her father, who settled in Frederick township. He was a Tunker, and she for some time was placed in the convent at Ephrata. Uniting with the Moravians, in 1742, she came to Bethlehem, and in 1747 was married to Thomas Schnall. He died in April of 1763, and she May 5, 1807. Her son John was a missionary among the Indians.

[30] Ann Liebisch was born at Zauchtenthal, Moravia, in 1703, where she and her husband Martin Liebisch were spiritually awakened by the preaching of Christian David. They were persecuted by the Papists, deserted their two farms and fled to Herrnhut. They came to Pennsylvania in 1742. He died at Christian's Spring in February of 1766. From internal injuries sustained by falling down stairs in the Widows' House, she died in January of 1770.

was sung, after which with grateful hearts the Lord was thanked for His gracious care, and the active interest of the Church, by which the building had been erected, was acknowledged. Reference was also made to the changes in the Choir during the past thirteen years. At the close of the address, a Liturgy, composed for the occasion, was sung.

When the guests had retired, the whole Choir repaired to their chapel, where Bro. Seidel delivered a dedicatory address on the text for the day: "It shall be to Me a name of joy, a praise and an honor, before all the nations of the earth, which shall hear all the good I do unto them."—Jer. 33, 9. He next introduced Sister von Gammern as the Deaconess of the Choir in place of Sister Huber, who was to remain at Nazareth. Then all kneeled in prayer and Bro. Seidel implored the Lord to fill the chapel with His gracious presence whenever the Choir should assemble therein; that everything be done to His honor and glory, and His blessing rest upon it always. "The peace of God pervaded all the services of the happy day, in a most forcible manner."

The number of widows who were accommodated in the new house was eleven, viz., Sisters Bonn, Reiss, Hertzer, Hauser, Liebisch, Schnall, Leighton, Prosky, Kremser, Schropp and Tanneberger, and this number varied but little for the first five years after its occupation. They were dieted at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* each, per week!

The reputation of Bethlehem for its massive church buildings and finely cultivated farms, was well known throughout the Provinces, and attracted many visitors to the town. The first person of distinction to visit the Widows' House after its occupation, was Governor Penn who, after he had been escorted through the house, was taken to the Brethren's House, where he

was entertained on the "Altan" with cake, wine and music. In September of 1772, General Gage and Richard Penn were among the visitors, and in April of 1774, Baron Repsdorf, Governor of Santa Cruz. During the war of Independence the town was seldom without the presence of officers of the army or representatives of the civil government, the more distinguished of whom were allowed to inspect the Choir Houses on application. Some of those of record who visited the Widows' House are: In January of 1777, John Adams, Lovell and Hall, delegates to Congress, *en route* to Baltimore; in April, General Gates, the French Brigadier General de Fermoy, several American officers, and two Waldecker, one English and one Scotch officer, prisoners of war on parole; in May, Generals Schuyler and Joseph Reed; in August, Generals Greene and Knox; in September, Lafayette, Baron de Kalb, Captain Webb, (the founder of Methodism in America), and his wife Grace Webb, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee and Henry Laurens. It was on the order of the latter, that the Widows' House was exempted for hospital purposes.

In November of 1778, the French Minister, Mons. Gerard, spent three days in the town and inspected all the Choir Houses; at a later date he made a second visit. During the year 1779, the most distinguished visitor was the wife of General Washington. On June 15, she arrived from Easton with Generals Sullivan, Poor, Maxwell and other officers, who, escorted by the Brethren Ettwein and von Marschall, visited the Widows' House and other buildings. The following day she left for Mount Vernon. In January of 1781, the French Marquis de Laval and Count de Custine, and in April, Count de St. Marine and Captain de St. Victor were visitors.

A memorable day in the history of the Widows' House, was the visit of General Washington on the

THE WIDOWS' HOUSE AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

The Annex from the South-east.

The Gallery.

The Annex from the South-west.

The Arches.

The Annex from the East.

afternoon of July 25, 1782, while *en route* to Newburg, New York. He called with Brother Ettwein, was introduced to Sister Werwing, the Deaconess, inspected the Chapel, and was served with cake and wine. In May of 1791, his friend Alexander Hamilton was also an interested visitor.

By the General Synod of 1782, Bishop John von Watteville, was deputed to hold a visitation in the American Province, a measure urgently called for to restore order and unity of action in the affairs of the Church, which had been materially deranged during the Revolution. He set sail the end of September, 1783, but, meeting with adverse winds and finally with shipwreck, he did not arrive at Philadelphia before the end of May, 1784, and at Bethlehem the ensuing month. One of the important changes made during his visitation, was the re-opening of the boarding-school for girls at Bethlehem. The meals for this school were furnished from the Widows' House kitchen until 1809. It is also on record, that the Bishop and his wife (who had accompanied him to America), were frequent visitors to the Widows' House and kept many of the services of the Choir.

After an occupation of twenty-six years, the need of increased accommodations for the Choir compelled the erection of an addition, 20x44 feet, on the east end of the building, which was commenced in May of 1794, and finished in April of 1795. The workmen engaged were largely from the congregation at Gnadenhütten-on-the-Mahoning. The principal change made by the improvement was the transfer of the chapel to the extension, where the Choir continued to worship for nearly half a century.

On the twenty-sixth day of November in the year 1873 an Agreement was made between "The Board of Elders of the Northern Diocese of the Church of the United

Brethren in the United States of America" of the first part and John Jordan junior, of the City of Philadelphia, of the second part, in which Agreement, after setting forth in due form the history of the building and a brief of title, it is further declared that

"**Whereas,** The said John Jordan junior, party of "the second part hereto, has paid unto the said 'The Board "of Elders of the Northern Diocese of the Church of the "United Brethren in the United States of America,' the sum "of Ten Thousand dollars, for the purpose of maintaining "and continuing the said Widows' House at Bethlehem; "the receipt of which sum the said Board of Elders do "hereby acknowledge; as on the First day of December "A. D. 1871:

"**Now, therefore,** it is understood and agreed by "and between the Parties hereto, their respective legal rep- "resentatives, successors and heirs, as follows, to wit:

"I. The legal title to the said Moravian Widows' "House at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, now is, and shall "henceforth continue to be, vested in 'The Board of "Elders of the Northern Diocese of the Church of the "United Brethren in the United States of America,' as "the executive head of the Northern Province of said "Church: But in case a change shall, at any time here- "after, be made in the form of government of said "Church, then the title to said Widows' House shall be "vested in the individual or corporation who shall, for "the time being, be the executive head of said Church.

"II. The said 'The Board of Elders of the Northern "Diocese of the Church of the United Brethren in the "United States of America,' and their successors in "authority as above provided, shall have the sole and ex- "clusive power of appointment and removal of all inmates "of the said Widows' House at Bethlehem; their deci- "sion in all cases being final.

"III. In the selection of inmates, who shall be entitled "to live free of rent, preference must be given to persons

THE WIDOWS' HOUSE AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

A Private Kitchen.

A Corner Cupboard.

A Glimpse of a Parlor.

The Upper Corridor looking North.

The Stairway in the Annex.

"who, being members of the Church, are widows or "daughters of its deceased ministers or missionaries, or "of such persons as may have been employed by the "authorities of the Church in one or other department of "its service; and among these, priority shall be given to "persons whose means do not allow of their residing "elsewhere. In the event of any inmate ceasing to be a "member of the Moravian Church, then the said Board "of Elders shall forthwith direct the removal of such in- "mate, and her privilege in the institution shall thereupon "cease.

"IV. While it is desirable that ample accommodation "in the house shall be provided for each inmate, yet the "intention of the parties to this Agreement is to secure "the enjoyment of its benefits to the largest number of "persons; and therefore, appointments and changes, with "the consequent re-distribution of rooms, shall be made "from time to time in such manner as to accommodate as "many inmates as may be consistent with their health "and comfort.

"V. The Board of Elders of the Northern Diocese of "the Church of the United Brethren in the United States "of America, shall make such Rules and Regulations for "the maintenance and government of the Widows' House "as are not at variance with this Agreement."

In the year 1889 was completed a commodious annex, outwardly in architectural harmony with the original building and of nearly the same dimensions, but, in its internal arrangements and conveniences, in keeping with modern days. Its erection was due to the final consummation of a plan projected by the late John Jordan Jr., whose characteristic benefactions have left their impress on more than one institution of the Church. This annex, of two stories and a basement, the dimensions being 40x80 feet, is connected with the center of the original building by a two-story enclosed gallery, 11⅓x20 feet. On the south end there is a three-story porch,

which commands a beautiful view of the valleys of the Lehigh and the Manocacy and the mountain beyond. It is built of selected mountain quarry stone, neatly pointed in black cement, with bricks for arches, cornices and belt courses laid in red mortar. Eight suites of rooms, four on each floor, divided by large corridors extending the whole length of the building, afford accommodation for as many inmates. Each suite consists of a sitting-room, a bed-chamber and a kitchen, the latter being furnished with a neat pressed-brick fire-place and cupboards. The bedrooms are supplied with wall closets. On each floor there are two bath-rooms with modern conveniences. An open stairway of oak, leads from the basement to the garret and is located in the center of the building.

The corridors are heated by a furnace, and hot water for the bath-rooms is supplied by a boiler and heating apparatus in the basement. The basement is divided into coal and fuel bins, a furnace room, and large provision cellar, with cemented floors. One-half of the garret, which extends over the whole building and its connections, is divided into store-rooms, one for each suite of rooms. The inside walls and ceilings are finished in plaster of Paris ; the wood-work is painted a very light drab color, and the whole interior, being remarkably well lighted, presents a very bright and cheerful appearance.

What more appropriate text could have been selected to commemorate the opening of the new, than that appointed for the dedication of the old building in 1768?

A JOURNEY

TO

Bethlehem and Nazareth,

IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1815,

DESCRIBED BY

GOTTHOLD BENJAMIN REICHEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN MS. BY HELEN BELL.

A JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM AND NAZARETH IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1815.

On the 11th of September, 1815, we, that is, the Brethren Jacob Blum,[1] John Vogler[2] and Gotthold Reichel,[3] left Friedenstadt[4] in order to go to Pennsyl-

[1] Jacob Blum, born September 24, 1781, in the Inn at Bethabara, N. C., of which his parents had charge, at a suitable age entered the service of the congregation at Salem, N. C., as clerk in the store, then under charge of Conrad Kremser. When the store was sold he became the purchaser. He died February 7, 1847.

[2] John Vogler, born at Friedland, N. C., November 20, 1783, as a young man removed to Salem, six miles distant, where he became a very successful silversmith. He was one of the most prominent promoters of the Sunday-school cause in Forsyth County. He died June 15, 1881, the oldest member that the congregation at Salem has ever had. He was the maternal grandfather of the Fries family of Salem.

[3] Gotthold Benjamin Reichel, second son of the Rt. Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, and his first wife Anna Dorothea, m. n. Maasz, was born at Nazareth, Pa., October 4, 1785. He was trained at Nazareth Hall, of which his father was the first Principal and actual founder. In 1802 he removed with his parents to Salem, N. C., and became assistant in the boys' school. In 1806 he became principal teacher; in 1809, chaplain of the unmarried men and assistant to his father; and in December, 1811, was ordained Deacon, by the Rt. Rev. John Herbst. On being appointed, in 1816, to the principalship of Salem Female Academy he was married to Henrietta Fredericka, daughter of Dr. Samuel Benjamin Vierling. In 1829 he became chief minister at Salem, N. C., and was ordained a Presbyter at Lititz, Pa., by the Rt. Rev. Andrew Benade. In March of the same year his wife died, after bearing him nine children, four sons and five daughters. Two sons died in early childhood. The seven who survived the mother were Clara C., who married the Rev. F. F. Hagen; the Rev. Edward H.; Sophia C., who married Comenius Senseman; the Rev. William C.; Angelica W., who married the Rev. J. F. Warman; Amelia C., who married the Rev. Joseph H. Kummer; and Ernestine T. In April, 1830, Bro. Reichel was married to Mary Parsons. He was a fine musician, and frequently served as organist when not on duty in the pulpit. He died at Salem, N. C., December 20, 1833.

[4] Friedenstadt, "the city of peace," = Salem, N. C.

vania, partly on business and partly on a visit and for recreation. It was especially important for me to receive permission to do so, because I had cherished the hope that much pleasure would come therefrom, and that my impaired health might be greatly benefited.

After an affectionate leavetaking from many dear ones, we mounted our well-packed horses at about seven o'clock. Brother Bagge[5] gave us his pleasant company as far as Germantown,[6] the county town, which, court week having begun, was much frequented by the neighboring inhabitants. The time of waiting for "second breakfast" passed pleasantly with several friends and acquaintances. We enjoyed the meal at Mr. Bowman's, who unites the different professions of innkeeper and physician. We could only judge of his talents in the first capacity by the invigoration and refreshment which his table afforded us. We left his house in the early afternoon, after we had been joined by a new companion, Abraham Conrad,[7] of Bethania. His spirited and well-built mare, the favorite subject of his conversation, and the object of his most particular care, excited

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[5] Charles Frederick Bagge, born July 30, 1775, at Salem, N. C., was a merchant who for a number of years kept a store in a village (called after him Charlestown but now known as Waughtown), several miles from Salem. The last years of his life were spent in Salem, where for many years he escorted visitors through the church buildings. His daughter was married to the late Rt. Rev. Henry A. Shultz. He died at Salem, August 15, 1837.

[6] A young man named Bitting, sent from General Greene's army, about the year 1781, to forage in the Townfork Hill, near the Dan River, was so well pleased with the country that upon his discharge from the army after the restoration of peace, he returned to North Carolina, took up a body of land in Stokes County, laid out a town, and called it Germantown, after his native place in Pennsylvania. This town became the county seat of Stokes County, and remained such until, in 1848, Forsyth County was set off from Stokes.

[7] Abraham Conrad, born in 1784, in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Penna., emigrated to North Carolina with his parents. He became a very successful farmer. His daughter and grandchildren live near Bethania, N. C.

general admiration. Less imposing was the Salem merchant's beast of burden. But Vogler's "Ball" and my "Yankey" were much inferior to both, however much they deserved to have the preference for endurance, as was proved in time. Our intention was to reach Col. Martin's place[8] that evening, as some of the company had received an invitation to visit him. The place was not on the high road, but off to the left, and was not so easy to find as might be supposed from the description of the road. In short, we lost our way and wandered about the narrow paths in the woods, which, however, we could not regard as a hardship, for the weather had grown uncommonly pleasant and lovely within the last few hours.

After we had gone up and down unusually steep and stony hills, and had been put on the right road by kind people, we finally reached the river Dan, which we crossed at the so-called Red Shoal ford. It was very good, and as it was the dry season of the year, the river, like all those we afterwards crossed, was quite shallow. Instead of finding Col. Martin's plantation, we arrived at the house of one of his sons, Mr. James Martin, who, however, was not at home. His wife and daughter, who had been at the Salem school a couple of years before, showed us every attention. They

[8] Colonel John Martin, a remarkable character in his day and time, was born in 1756. He was distinguished for his patriotism and spirit during the Revolution, and was a terror to the Tories. He acted a prominent part in breaking up a nest of them in a beautiful rock-walled cave in the Sauratown Mountains, which still goes by the name of "Tories' Den." He was probably the same man who furnished the Colonial Government with iron from his forge during the Revolution. From the building stones excavated in his mining operations, he built the most imposing residence of the times, which is still known as the "Rock House." It is situated on the Quaker Gap Road, which the first German colonists traveled on their way to Wachovia. This house, situated on the left side of the road, may be the one referred to in the journal. His political contests with Gottlieb Schober are still remembered.

praised the place and the Institute and the exceeding healthiness which has always prevailed there; but complained of the prices for board, etc., which seemed high to them. Before we reached there, Brother Vogler had had some difficulty with his shying horse, which came within an ace of throwing him off into a creek. There is an iron forge of Col. Martin's on this latter, which we saw before supper. The poor slaves there have a hard time. Taking in account our losing the way, we rode 33 miles to-day.

September 12th.—We left at daybreak, and were enraptured with the loveliness of the woods, in which the many walnut trees show the fertility of the soil. We cut to the right into the high road, and after 18 miles reached the house of Mr. Staples, a well-to-do, pleasant man. Here we had a good breakfast, and our fill of apples and excellent cider. I had been there before, and was somewhat acquainted; but this time I was far better pleased than at first. It was very fortunate for me that our friendly host opportunely discovered that I had left my saddlebags hanging on the fence, and called me back, helping me to resume them. This circumstance taught us all the necessary caution which we needed so greatly in our further journey. After a ride of twelve miles we crossed the Smyth River,[9] one of the largest streams on the Pennsylvania trip. Before that, we had a much needed and refreshing thunderstorm with rain, which somewhat moderated the great heat. Our present destination was eleven miles off, and we reached it after dark. The inns in this part of the country are very scarce and, including this one, only ordinary. Mr. Gut, nevertheless, tried to justify his name, and was as pleasant as possible to us. He is not a rich man, neither is he one of the poorest. Every-

[9] In Henry County, Va.

thing was activity in the house. A sociable apple-paring was started, in which some neighbors joined, besides the numerous family. A place was soon made for us, and great was the joy of these Germans, when we announced ourselves as such. "You are from Salem?" called out the whole circle. "You are Moravians?" What we wanted was immediately prepared for us, and was put on the table. A few weeks ago, Gut's old parents had come from the other side of Standerford mountain to take up their abode with him at his and his wife's invitation. They used to live at Yorktown, where they have a son. They were born in the Palatinate, and are advanced in years, the husband being 85 and his wife 90 years old. To-day we left forty-one miles behind us.

September 13th.—We crossed this morning a part of the mountains, the magnificent views and precipitous peaks of which aroused our attention and admiration. We led our horses down the so-called Standerford. This name appears to be in honor of a man, by the name of Standiever, who lives on a plantation at the foot of the mountain. Not far on the other side is a cross-road, and we made a mistake in taking the right-hand road instead of the left. We were soon aware of our error; but instead of turning back, we preferred to cut across into the other road, if possible. This was made practicable by my turning off to a not distant plantation, and asking the owner for a negro to show us the way. Instead of doing this, he was ready to accompany us himself and put us in the right way. First of all we rode through Pig River,[10] which in the meadow at this place had such steep banks that our horses almost refused to cross. We were obliged to force them to it. We soon reached the right road; but were not allowed by our friendly guide to give him any reward. We praised him so

[10] In Franklin County, Va.

much the more as a kind-hearted man. After seventeen miles we crossed the Blackwater River,[11] which at times is very unruly, and took breakfast at Calloway, on the other side. The innkeeper had met us shortly before, and therefore was not at home. His wife was obliging, but extremely melancholy, and, besides cooking and waiting on us, did nothing but sigh and groan. We did not know what was the matter with her. As for the rest, the house swarmed with children of every size.

We soon came to a very interesting part of the mountain-road, which runs by the bed of the Maggidy[12] creek, and crosses this stream, which is somewhat larger than but otherwise similar to Bushyfork, thirteen times. At a little distance from the place where we crossed it for the last time, stands a house which I knew as an inn. We stopped there and called for cider; but found that the people were not those of five years previous. Further on we crossed a small brook, perhaps even oftener than we had crossed the larger one. That evening we were not far from the Roanoke, which is twenty miles distant from Blackwater. An old Irishman, McClenningham, lives there, a good, pious, lame man, who willingly took us in. While the others were busy taking care of the horses, and I staid with our effects, I was troubled, in the host's absence, by a half-drunken German, who insisted upon a sermon, assuring me the host would like it. I put him off with difficulty, whereupon he was taken to bed and slept off his intoxication. Old McC.'s hobby is the richness of his land, and especially the powerful spring on it near his dwelling, which runs a mill of itself. Our day's journey was thirty-seven miles.

September 14th.—We started early and went on over

[11] In Franklin County, Va.

[12] Maggotty.

the Roanoke, then past the so-called Big Lick,[13] where the Richmond road crosses, and where the drinking water is so bad that it causes serious illness, on which account a mill and several dwelling houses there have been abandoned. Farther on, the country is less settled and in places denuded of the wood, which has been used to maintain an iron forge and furnace situated at one side of the road. About sixteen miles from Roanoke, lies the little town of Amsterdam, consisting of but few houses. At the inn of the widow Seacat, we ordered and enjoyed an appetizing breakfast. Perhaps it was the terrifying name that had partly filled the company with prejudices against this house. They, however, were soon set to rest and we found everything good beyond expectation. The hostess told us that several Salem people had stopped there before, and she declared she had an especial partiality for our place and its people. Her good little daughter was to be sent to the girls' school, as soon as the child could make up her mind to leave her mother for a time. We left the village in the noonday heat, and, passing through the smaller Greenville, fifteen miles farther on reached the James, which has a bridge, now, however, in need of repairs. We rode along the river one mile farther to Pattensburg, which consists of but very few houses, but is very conveniently situated for trade, for the river is navigable to Richmond. Therefore we wondered so much the more that it increased so slowly. It can never become large on account of the steepness of the slope on which it lies. We went on some miles farther, and finally, as it threatened to rain, sought lodging in a fine new house not far off the road, belonging to Mr. Newel, a cheery man, full of compliments. However, as was to be expected, our entertainment was nothing remarkable. The spirit of

[13] In Bottetourt County, Va.

the man soon inspired the company, some of whom showed themselves almost wild and ungovernable. Nearly 36 miles were left behind.

September 15th.—Our first business this morning was to devote some time to observing the magnificent Natural Bridge in Rockbridge County. A good mile before we reached it, we turned off to the right from the road, and followed a narrow lane leading across it. And before we could believe it, we found ourselves on the stupendous mass of rock, the top and sides of which are overgrown with trees and bushes. The bridge is perhaps twenty feet wide. The length is not very considerable; but the height is several hundred feet. We rode over, fastened our horses, and hastened, while on the other side, down to the bed of the stream which flows under it. It is a majestic sight to look up at the bridge of rock from below, and notice the almost perfect regularity of the arch. On the northern side, the scene is especially romantic, owing to the huge jutting rocks, which it is possible to climb. Still this beauty of nature, methinks, suffers an unworthy disfiguration, in having a shot foundry built on it, set up by a couple of gentlemen from Richmond and Lexington. It is not running at present. Above, on one side of the bridge, there is a little house in which the casting of the shot is done, and whence it is allowed to fall, in order to cool it off quickly, through a long cylinder into a reservoir arranged beneath. The channel is made of ropes which are covered with red linen. This has an odd appearance, even when the reason of the arrangement is known. Somewhat down the stream, there is a small dam and another little house which is used in connection with it. There are many names of admiring visitors cut in the rocks. Whoever sees it for the first time cannot help being struck with astonishment. This work of nature is said

to be frequently honored by visitors from near and far. Our visit was but short, and yet delightful.

We soon hastened on in order to take breakfast in Lexington,[14] thirteen miles farther on, which we did only after the lapse of some hours. The road was extremely rough and mountainous. We reached the excellent and well-known inn of Mr. Shields, and enjoyed a good breakfast and porter there. The black waiter grumbled greatly because we did not take dinner, as it was so late then. To silence him, we tried to keep him incessantly occupied. We could not look about Lexington for want of time, and on account of the heat. As well as I could see, the town consists of a long street, with some fine brick buildings. Not far from our inn is the handsome court-house, where a singing school was being held. At the western end of the town is a very fine but not large church. At a short distance from each, on a side street, are the buildings devoted to the instruction and education of youth, the College[15] and the Female Academy.[16] How flourishing they are now, I do not know. I was in the latter five years ago. I understood that there is but one female teacher there now. We went on in the great heat, first fording the North River opposite the city. On the same side as the latter, the banks are high, perpendicular and splendidly covered with spruce and pine, affording a charming prospect from the other side. Moreover the stream is navigable for great packet-boats. We get twelve miles farther on to-day, to Fairfield, a small town. The innkeeper is given to drink, and his wife is a stranger to cleanliness; consequently we were not pleased there. To while away the time, we walked about the little town in the

[14] In Rockbridge County, Va.
[15] Washington College.
[16] The Ann Smith Academy.

evening, and found some of the inhabitants whom we met very entertaining. There is a school here, which is attended by more than thirty persons, children and adults. About thirty-one miles were traveled to-day.

September 16th.—We left twelve miles behind us before breakfast, which we took in the larger town of Greenville.[17] It is better than Fairfield. We left there as soon as possible, making our way through the droves of cattle which were taking the same road. As we approached Staunton, twelve miles farther on, we found the road so taken up by other and more numerous droves, that we could only get to the town by a side road. The town lies in a deep valley, and its situation shows that more attention was paid to convenience than to beauty. This is shown particularly in the vicinity of the stream flowing through the place, which runs several mills. In somewhat cooler temperature, towards four o'clock, we reached Major Hanger's,[18] eight miles from Staunton.[19] He keeps a good tavern, in which he meets with extraordinarily great encouragement. He is a German. We made thirty-two miles to-day.

September 17th.—Our breakfast station was Kieseltown, seventeen miles off, before reaching which we crossed the North River. The river of the same name near Lexington runs into the James; but this one and Middle River, which we crossed not far from Staunton, form the Great Shenandoah, for the Shenandoah not far from Newmarket has the prefix Little. There are two roads from Hanger's to this town. The one to the left leads through the country town, Rockingham, and is

[17] In Augusta County, Va.

[18] The first of the family to settle here was Peter Hanger, who came from Pennsylvania, in 1750.

[19] Staunton, Va., (formerly Augusta Court-House), situated amid beautiful scenery, is now a leading educational center, with a number of excellent seminaries for young women.

extremely rocky. The right hand road which we took is, on the contrary, extremely good in dry weather, and goes through the small, almost deserted Kieseltown, where we stopped at Mr. Hoffman's, an honest German, who keeps a good house. In the afternoon we reached Newmarket,[20] eighteen miles distant. The last five miles were very unpleasant, for we had to endure a violent and cold rain storm, which made the road so slippery that we were obliged to proceed very slowly. We found supper and a night's lodging at the hotel of Mr. Meems, a corpulent man who laughed incessantly. The numerous company in the house behaved very oddly, and the young Virginia beaux strutted about full of satisfaction with their imagined superiority. Newmarket consists of one long street, and has a number of hotels. The inhabitants are mostly German, but they are ashamed of their language, which is consequently gradually giving way to English. Pastor Henkel[21] and the greater part of his descendants live here. At the extreme end of the town at one side, on the left, is his church, a wooden building with a clock and steeple.

September 18th.—We passed through a very pleasant country, and through tracts eminently fitted for good meadows and pastures, lying along the Shenandoah, which we crossed six miles from Newmarket. There

[20] In Shenandoah County, Va.

[21] The Rev. Paul Henkel, born December 15, 1754, in Rowan County, N. C., died in Newmarket, Va., November 17, 1825, was a son of the Rev. Gerhardt Henkel, who came to America about 1740, and settled first at Germantown, Pa., and later in Virginia, one of the first regular Lutheran ministers in the country. Nearly all of his male descendants have been Lutheran ministers. Paul began his ministry at Newmarket, and was ordained June 6, 1792. He established a number of churches in Virginia and North Carolina, made missionary tours at various times through Western Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio, and was the author of several doctrinal publications and of a satirical poem entitled "Zeitvertreib." He published two hymn books, a German one in 1810, and an English one in 1816.

are unusually long stretches of excellent land about here, which already bring $200 an acre. Nine miles farther on we halted at Shryock's. The man was not at home, but, on the other hand, there were interesting books about. The breakfast was the most abundant we had yet received, which, methinks, was to be ascribed to the activity of the good house-wife's civil daughter. We soon passed through the so-called "narrow passage," a narrow ridge with the Shenandoah on one side, and a little brook flowing on the other. This is an enchanting spot. Farther on the road leads through a stony valley, which is so much like the bed of a creek, that I could suppose nothing else but that long ago, or at times, a considerable stream either had flowed there, or still flowed. Woodstock lies twenty miles from Newmarket, and contains a handsome court-house and many fine buildings. Twelve miles farther is Staubertown, which is settled principally by Germans and has more than forty houses. The road hereabouts is very mountainous and rocky, so much so that people had partly begun to make fences out of the stones. The owner of the land, Mr. Stauber, or Stover, lives a mile farther on, in an isolated brick building, like a castle. We made five miles more and reached Middletown[22] in the evening. The innkeeper with whom we lodged, is an Englishman, and very pleasant and agreeable. A Swiss, Handschuh by name, who happened to be there as a passing traveler, entertained us the whole evening, making many a joke and jest. He talked a great deal about himself, his belief, and the Reformed Church, of which he prided himself on being a member. He bluntly asserted that all mankind without exception would be saved, but the bad part of them only when the "year of jubilee" came. His erroneous idea of our Church was shown by his

[22] In Frederick County, Va.

complaining of our way of marrying; for he asserted, it was by casting lots for all the unmarried women without exception. He had been so informed in Lancaster! Thirty-seven miles.

September 19th.—We left Middletown, the name of the place lying midway between Staubertown and Newtown, in company with the talkative Handschuh, who rode a very small, lean horse, of which he kept saying, "He is a mighty good razor," meaning "racer." After thirteen miles we reached the town of Winchester,[23] a place of considerable size. It lies in a ravine and is handsomely built. We took breakfast there, and then rode twenty-two miles to Charlestown,[24] which is smaller, but will improve greatly. Our lodging was wretched, and we lay upon ropes instead of feathers. Mr. Wilson, at whose house we were, has only lately begun to keep a tavern. Thirty-five miles.

September 20th.—We left but eight miles behind us before breakfast, which we took at Mr. Williams' in Harper's Ferry. This place lies on the Potomac, and, with the exception of a few private houses, consists principally of large brick buildings on the river side, the gun factories of the United States. In these are employed more than three hundred men. It interested us very much to see the works. The three principal parts of the factory are the forging, filing and polishing departments. The armory, too, was visited. We had almost forgotten our breakfast, and had to take a reprimand for coming late. The negro, who wanted to row us across, fared badly. We were rowed across the Potomac in a very violent and searching cold wind. But what a magnificent country! At a little distance the Shenandoah runs into the river Potomac, and there the

[23] In Frederick County, Va.

[24] In Jefferson County, West Va.

mountains are very high; but they are still more lofty, and have overhanging precipices on the Potomac side, where the road runs along by the bed of the stream, which it follows about three miles. We admired the boldness of the people who live in the little houses along the precipice, where it seems as if the overhanging rocks which are partly loose, were threatening to crush them into ruins. The road along here could be easily converted into a turnpike, which will doubtless be done shortly. We reached little Traptown[25] after twelve miles, and hastened on to Fredericktown, eight miles farther. We had the company, or rather the guidance, of one of its inhabitants, who could not be induced in any manner to converse. In the town we had some porter at Mr. Euston's,[26] which we found very refreshing. The innkeeper's wife is the leading attraction. She thought we came from South Carolina, and narrated that Mr. Dehon from Charlestown preached in their church on his journey through the town. We started on after a little while, crossing the Monackasy about three miles from the town, and wished, farther on, to turn in at a certain Rice's, as it was raining; but we were refused, and obliged to move on to Woodsbury,[27] which we reached in the dark after riding nine miles. Here we found an excellent tavern[28] and fire on the hearth. The man's name is Hedges, and his wife is a German. Forty miles.

September 21st.—After we had crossed both the Pipe Creeks and made eleven miles more, Tawnitown[29] was our breakfast station. Peterlittletown lies seven miles

[25] In Frederick County, Md.

[26] *Quere.* Huston's. In 1814 John Huston became proprietor of the "Globe Inn."

[27] Woodsborough.

[28] Said to have been occupied by General Washington as a headquarters during the Revolution.

[29] Taneytown, Carroll County, Md.

farther on, and nine miles beyond we passed through Hanover, after which we went four miles farther. It was threatening rain, which began that very evening, so we stopped at the miserable house of Mr. Wolf. He was away, and his wife had her hands full. In the evening it was unpleasant in the highest degree, for there were six teamsters there, drunken young fellows, with whom it was impossible to stay. We, and a travelling pastor from Philadelphia, finally obtained a private room on request, but no fire could be made in it because the numerous rats had undermined the chimney. We took supper at a long table in company with these men, who talked vilely. The landlady only said, "People ought sometimes to have a little fun." We soon went to bed, where we had to listen for a while to the dancing and abomination under us. Thirty-one miles.

September 22d.—An unpleasant, cold, rainy day. We went five miles in the morning to Yorktown, where we had breakfast, after which we made a pleasant call on Brother Rondthaler.[30] He was very entertaining. We

[30] The Rev. Emanuel Rondthaler, Sr., father of the Rev. Messrs. Edward Rondthaler, Sr., Emanuel Rondthaler, Jr., and Ambrose Rondthaler, all deceased, and grandfather of Bishop Edward Rondthaler, D.D., of Salem, N. C., and the Rev. J. Albert Rondthaler, D.D., of Indianapolis, Ind. He was born July 27, 1764, at Zerwing, near Lauenburg, in Pomerania. His father, the Rev. Albert Rondthaler, a Lutheran clergyman, after many years of zealous labor was at the age of 50 years deprived of his parish because he identified himself with the "Erweckte" and preached accordingly. The son in his youth learned the trade of hat-making and during his apprenticeship received private instructions from Pastor Kunze, an old friend of his father. Following his desire to connect himself with the Brethren he went to Neusalz, Prussia, in 1788, where he was given employment, was received into the Church and was appointed to the spiritual oversight of the boys of the congregation. In 1791 he was called to Herrnhut as bookkeeper in the hattery, and at the same time as an assistant evangelist in the neighborhood. In 1795 he was appointed overseer of the Single Brethren at Sarepta, Russia, and was ordained a Deacon at Sarepta, in March, 1796. There he also labored as an evangelist among the soldiers and did home-mission work among the Lutheran and Reformed families in the region

wanted to go only as far as Columbia, but concluded, as we were already wet through, to endure the heavy rain until Lancaster. It was accompanied by heavy thunder. We were all the more pleased to reach the new bridge across the Susquehannah, which is more than a mile long, and the convenience of which was very clear to us. Its construction seems to have been more for convenient use than for artistic beauty. It joins the newly laid out but rapidly growing Wrightstown to the longer flourishing Columbia. It was ten miles from here to Lancaster, where we arrived in good time, and found good lodging at Mr. Michael's.[31] He has a number of boarders and is much visited by Lititz people. Twenty-five miles.

September 23d.—We went early to Brother and Sister Müller,[32] who showed us much kindness. After a late breakfast we started in clearing weather for our dear Lititz, where we drank our coffee in the Brethren's House,

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roundabout, besides making several evangelistic visits among the Calmucks. In 1805 he left Sarepta and returned to Herrnhut. In May, 1806, he came to America to engage in the service of the Church in this country. In September, 1806, he was married to Catharine Wünsch, who died March 17, 1808. His second wife was Marie Christina Toon. He had one daughter by the first marriage and five sons and two daughters by the second marriage. One of his sons died at the age of three years. His first charge here was York ("Yorktown"), Pa., where he remained thirteen years. In January, 1819, he entered upon his labors at Nazareth, to which congregation he had been called as head pastor, and in March, 1829, was ordained a Presbyter. After twenty years' service at Nazareth he retired in September, 1839, and passed his remaining years there. He died June 6, 1847.

[31] John Michael, the proprietor of "The Grape" tavern between 1794 and 1821.

[32] The Rev. John Constantine Müller, born September 24, 1762, was the son of John Caspar and Anna Elizabeth (Schloder) Müller, of Salzungen, Grand Duchy of Meiningen, merchant. From 1802 to 1804, he was overseer of the unmarried men at Bethlehem. On November 25, 1804, he married Maria Rosina Unger, at Bethlehem, and in December went to Lititz as assistant overseer of the married people. His wife died in 1809. On June 14, 1810, he married Anna Sophia Christ, at Lititz, and went to Lancaster as minister of the congregation there, remaining till 1819, when he succeeded the Rev. Emanuel Rondthaler, Sr., at York, where he died September 30, 1821.

and were visited by many of the Brethren. The Brethren's House is empty and deserted during the day, but in the evening it is like the one at Salem. Eight miles.

September 24th.—In compliance with the wish of Brother Benade,[33] *pastor loci*, who was not well, I supplied his place and preached to his congregation a sermon on 1 Cor. 3: 11, "Other foundation can no man lay," etc., after which we took dinner with the old single Brother Thiel. We had coffee at Brother Levering's,[34] where Brother Benade was present. His wife was not at home. Then a glass of wine was served in the circle of the dear Reinke[35] family, after which I

[33] The Rt. Rev. Andrew Benade was born February 20, 1769, at Kleinwelka, Saxony. In 1795 he was a teacher in Nazareth Hall; from 1799, principal of Bethlehem Girls' School. In 1813 he became head minister at Lititz, Pa.; from 1822 to 1829 he was president of the Southern Provincial Board; from 1829 to 1836, head minister at Lititz; and from 1836 to 1848, president of the Northern Provincial Board. In 1848 he retired from active service and lived for a time "at the forge" above Nazareth and then at Bethlehem, where he died October 31, 1859, aged 90 years, the oldest minister and the Senior Bishop of the Church, both in age and in term of office. He was ordained Deacon, December 6, 1801; Presbyter, September 27, 1807, and Bishop, September 15, 1822. He was twice married; his first wife was Johanna Maria Christ, and his second wife Maria Henry.

[34] The Rev. Abraham Levering, at the time Warden at Lititz. He was a son of John Levering, one of the early missionaries to Jamaica, who died there in 1764. He was born December 18, 1757, at Old Nazareth, and when his parents left for Jamaica in 1759, was placed in the Nursery in the Whitefield House. He was educated at Nazareth, learned the shoemaker's trade at Bethlehem, was employed in the congregation store in Bethlehem, 1777–88; teacher of Boys' School, Bethlehem, 1788, and at Nazareth Hall, 1789–90; landlord of the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, 1790–1800; store-keeper on his own account at Bethlehem, 1800–1805. He married Anna Christina Cassler, of Lititz, August 21, 1790. He was Warden at Lititz, 1805–1832, and for part of this period also curator of the Girls' School and spiritual overseer of the married people. He was ordained a Deacon, August 13, 1806, by the Rt. Rev. G. H. Loskiel. He retired in 1832, and returned to Bethlehem, where he died March 17, 1835.

[35] The Rev. Abraham Reinke, Jr., son of the Rev. Abraham Reinke, Sr., who compiled the Register of Members of the Moravian Church, 1727–1754, published in Vol. I of the Transactions, pp. 283–426, father of Bishop Samuel Reinke, deceased, and grandfather of Bishop Amadeus Reinke, deceased,

took a walk with Brother Benade. In the evening I was present at the church service held by Brother Reinke, and played the organ on invitation. Afterwards there was a sociable and pleasant evening in the "Clergy-House."

September 25th saw me, in company with Brother Vogler, early on the road to Bethlehem. The Brethren Blum and Conrad travelled to Philadelphia. We took a side road to a gunsmith's, where Brother Vogler had business. We passed through Reamstown, Adamstown and Reading, arriving in the evening at Stichter's tavern, which Eckert keeps. Thirty-four miles.

September 26th.—We left twenty-one miles behind us before breakfast, which we took at the better inn opposite Treichler's. Only fourteen miles more to Bethlehem. O what joy! In Allentown we were delayed, and while my companion attended to business, I enjoyed some good beer, also speaking to Brother Owen Rice, senior. The new chain bridge over the Lehigh is a

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Bishop Clement Reinke and the Rev. Edwin E. Reinke. of Jamaica, W. I. Abraham Reinke, Jr., was born June 15, 1752, in Philadelphia. At fifteen years of age he was put to learn the tanner's and currier's trade at Bethlehem, and endured much hardship while engaged in this rough and uncongenial work so strangely selected for him. Through the kind offices of Bishop John Frederick Reichel when here on a visitation from Europe, to whom young Reinke opened his heart, he was admitted as a candidate for the ministry. He began his new career as assistant to Brother Jacob Van Vleck, chaplain of the Single Brethren at Bethlehem, and to Brother Jacob Fries, itinerant evangelist in the region about Bethlehem. He was next engaged in spiritual activity among the Single Brethren at Lititz, from January, 1783, to October, 1786, under the direction of Bishop Matthew Hehl, at the same time evangelizing in the neighborhood. He was ordained a Deacon by Bishop John Ettwein, October 27, 1784. He was married October 30, 1786, to Maria Sophia Reichelt, a widowed sister of the Greenland missionary Christian David Rudolph. Later he served as pastor at York, Pa., twice at Lancaster, Pa., at Hope, N. J., twice at Nazareth and three times at Lititz. He was ordained a Presbyter in 1806. He removed finally to Lititz in August, 1815. There his wife died April 19, 1816; and he followed her on February 16, 1833. His period of service in the Church extended over 50 years.

masterpiece, and presents a fine appearance. On it and on the road we met Bethlehemites, but we were quite strange to them. Yes, I reached the door of the "Clergy-House" without being recognized by a soul. Quickly I flew in and up stairs, and greeted and kissed my good mamma and dear papa,[36] as well as both my

[36] The Rt. Rev. Carl Gotthold Reichel, born July 14, 1751, at Hermsdorf, near Görlitz, Saxony, was a son of the Rev. Carl Rudolph Reichel, pastor at Hermsdorf and, later, at Neukirch near Bautzen, and his wife Eleanore Sophie, m. n. Müller. His uncle was the Rt. Rev. Johann Friedrich Reichel, the other stem of the Moravian Reichels. Educated in Moravian schools at Gross-Hennersdorf and Niesky, and in the Theological Seminary at Barby, he became teacher in the Pædagogium at Niesky in 1774. In 1775 he was assigned to editorial work at Barby, but at Easter, 1777, he became assistant of the famous schoolman, Zembsch, at Niesky, and in 1778 superintended the erection of the new school buildings, besides filling various offices in the congregation. In August, 1780, he became one of the Secretaries of the Elders' Conference of the Unity at Barby, and on October 2, 1780, was married to Sister Anna Dorothea Maasz, at Gnadenfrei. During his secretaryship he compiled a Manual of Geography, which was used for many years in our Church-schools. At the General Synod of 1782, held at Berthelsdorf, of which he was a member and a secretary, he was ordained a Deacon on October 21, by Bishop Johannes von Watteville. In 1783 he was called to the assistant pastorate at Nazareth, Pa., and to open the Pædagogium at Nazareth Hall. Before beginning the journey to America, in 1784, he was ordained Presbyter by Bishop Spangenberg. Serving as Principal until 1801, he became chief pastor at Nazareth, in 1799, on the death of Bro. David Zeisberger, Jr., and Bro. Andrew Busse became his assistant in the pastorate. He participated in the reorganization of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in 1787, and was its Vice-President from 1788 to 1816, and its President until his departure for Europe in 1817. From 1785 to 1801 he was a member of the Provincial Board, North. Having been appointed to the chief pastorate at Salem, N.C., and to the presidency of the Provincial Board, South, he was consecrated Bishop on December 6, 1801, by Bishops John Ettwein and Jeremiah Risler. In the evening of the same day he conferred Deacon's orders on the Rev. Andrew Benade. On August 15, 1806, his wife died, having borne him six children, two at Barby, near Magdeburg, namely, Sophie Dorothea, who was married to the Rev. Charles F. Seidel (see note 39), and Carl Friedrich, who served the Church in the British Province for many years; and four sons at Nazareth: Gotthold Benjamin, (see note 3), Samuel Rudolph, (born December 8, 1787; died at Herrnhut, Saxony, June 28, 1857), for many years a minister of our Church in Great Britain, and two younger sons who died in early infancy. On July 31, 1809, he was married at Bethlehem to

little brothers. These were rapturous moments. Then, after the interchange of greetings, we talked over many old and new matters, and enjoyed a pleasant vesper. Brother and Sister Schaaf[37] were greeted too, without delay. In the evening I was taken by my busy father from room to room of the house just prepared for the reception of the Girls' School.[38] It was very finely arranged. I took neither interest nor pleasure therein. The evening passed very pleasantly; my bed was prepared for me in the guest-room. To be so near Nazareth and yet to have to wait before I went there, seemed impossible, and I asked and received my dear parents' permission to go there to-morrow for a few days.

September 27th.—After the delightful family breakfast, I began the ride to Nazareth, the never to be forgotten

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his second wife, Sister Catharine Fetter, of Lititz. On returning from the funeral of their first child, a boy, who died shortly after his birth on January 10, 1811, he received the letter announcing his appointment to the chief pastorate at Bethlehem, and to the Presidency of the Provincial Board, North. He stood at the head of affairs during the War of 1812–1815, in which latter year his health and especially his memory began to fail. On October 16, 1817, with his wife and two children, born at Bethlehem, namely, Levin Theodore, (see note 42) and Theophilus Christlieb, born
he sailed from New York and in nineteen days landed at Liverpool. He attended the General Synod of 1818, at Herrnhut, as member *ex officio*. At its close he retired from active service, and resided at Niesky. His wife died on May 20, 1820. In his retirement he was still active, especially in historical work. On April 18, 1825, he entered into rest.

[37] The Rev. Christian Frederick Schaaf, born January 11, 1759, at Berthelsdorf, came to America in 1795; in 1796, he became minister at Schœneck; in 1798, at Graceham, Md.; in 1817, spiritual overseer of the married people at Bethlehem, and in 1817 to 1818 *ad interim* head pastor and president of the Provincial Board. In 1819 he became spiritual overseer of the married people and assistant minister at Salem, N. C., where he passed the rest of his days, and died July 23, 1841. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop John Ettwein in December, 1795, a Presbyter by Bishop G. H. Loskiel, September 27, 1807. While at Bethlehem he was, for a time, evangelist and colporteur in the neighborhood, and was instrumental in gathering the first Sunday-school of the Bethlehem Congregation.

[38] The Brethren's House, just made ready for the School. See "Bethlehem Seminary Souvenir."

place of my birth and of the pleasures of my youth, in peaceful loneliness and with inexpressible sensations which almost overpowered me, as I approached the favored place, and saw from a distance the venerable Hall with its steeple. I reached my destination quite unnoticed, and surprised my much occupied brother-in-law and delighted sister.[39] "There is my Edward," she said, and I kissed him. Such a darling child. "Uncle," said the little boy, "will you play hoop with me?" Answer, "Yes." "Oh, then come, let us play hoop." But first of all my faithful friend Kummer[40] must be greeted. He saw me from a distance with his eagle eye, and ran to meet me, more cheerful than I have ever seen him. The first teacher received me with hearty cordiality, and his colleagues soon became good friends of mine. "But where is my good niece Henrietta?" She was in the school and heard her uncle say this, and was frightened even to tears. The dear child needed time to get acquainted with me, and then she cheered up

[39] The Rev. Charles Frederick Seidel, was born December 25, 1778, at Radeburg, near Dresden; came to America in 1806 as overseer of Single Brethren at Salem, and assistant minister. From 1809–1817 he was Principal of Nazareth Hall and minister of Nazareth congregation. In 1817 he came to Bethlehem as minister, serving until 1822. From 1818 to beginning of 1819 he was Principal of the Boarding School *ad interim;* from 1822 to 1836, Principal of the Boarding School and member of the Provincial Board; then minister at Newport, R. I., for a while, and afterwards assistant minister at Bethlehem. From 1847 to 1851 he was head minister at Bethlehem. From 1851–55 he was a member of the Provincial Board, and then retired. He died April 26, 1861. He was ordained Deacon, November 13, 1806, by Bishop Carl Gotthold Reichel, and Presbyter, April 18, 1819, by Bishop C. G. Hueffel. His wife was Sophia Dorothea, only daughter of Bishop Carl Gotthold Reichel. Her name heads the list of teachers in Salem Female Academy.

[40] Probably the Rev. John G. Kummer (born at Niesky, St. Thomas, May 29, 1790), who was teacher in Nazareth Hall, 1815 to 1817; bookkeeper at Bethlehem Boarding School, 1818 to 1826; Principal of Lititz Boarding School, 1826 to 1830; Warden at Nazareth, 1830–1836; Principal of Bethlehem Boarding School, 1836 to 1843, and Warden at Lititz, from 1843 to his death, August 6, 1846.

quickly. To-day I gave myself up to family joys which were great indeed beyond expression.

September 28th.—Allowed myself to be urged to take the children's meeting, upon which occasion my feelings were too much for me, and I could hardly refrain from tears, as I looked at the fine band of attentive youths before me. I soon visited the greatly improved and beautiful Hall garden, which I often did afterwards, always deriving new joy and pleasure therefrom. I spoke to Anna and Rosel and many kind acquaintances. The worthy "Arbeiter" of the Church were also visited, and indeed all the Brethren and Sisters in the place. I spent the evening with Brother Vogler in the first class room, where all the hospitable teachers had invited us to have cakes and wine and conversation.

September 29th.—I spent the forenoon visiting. Had the pleasure of assisting in the love-feast on Michaelmas. The children had already assembled for worship when it occurred to dear hearty Brother Frueauff[41] that I should hold the service. And nothing could change his determination. I finally consented, so as not to keep the poor children waiting too long, after the beloved man of God had told me what to sing, and pray and say. In the evening I played the organ at the liturgical service.

September 30th.—Left Nazareth after several days,

[41] The Rev. John Frederick Frueauff, born October 29, 1762, at Neudietendorf, Saxe-Gotha, was teacher in Nazareth Hall, 1788–1791; chaplain of the Single Brethren from 1791 to 1796 at Lititz, and from 1796–1798 at Bethlehem. In 1798 he became minister at Schœneck; in 1802, at Philadelphia; in 1804, assistant minister at Nazareth. From 1895 to 1815 he was Principal of the Boarding School and assistant minister at Lititz; and from 1815 to 1819 was head pastor and preacher at Nazareth, serving also as a member of the Provincial Board. From 1819 to 1821 he was Principal of Bethlehem Boarding School, and then retired. For a time, however, he served as head pastor *ad interim* at Bethlehem, and was a member of the Provincial Board until his death, which occurred suddenly on November 14, 1839, while on a journey to Philadelphia. He was ordained Deacon, December 16, 1792, and Presbyter, September 27, 1807.

and rode to Bethlehem with friend Vogler. My dear parents and their little ones were well, and were as glad as I was to see them again. I visited about the place with little Levin.[42] He was very affectionate. In the afternoon took a walk to the Lehigh with Brother Vogler.

[42] The Rt. Rev. Levin Theodore Reichel, younger brother of the diarist, born at Bethlehem, Pa., March 4, 1812, went to Germany with his parents in 1818. After completing his studies he returned to America in 1834, taught in Nazareth Hall till 1837, and was ordained Deacon, June 11, 1837, at Bethlehem, by Bishop Benade. He served as pastor at Schœneck till 1839; at Emmaus till 1844; then at Nazareth till 1853, being at the same time Principal of Nazareth Hall from 1849 to 1853. On May 23, 1849, he was ordained Presbyter, at Bethlehem. In 1853 he was called to Lititz as pastor, but in 1854 the Elders' Conference of the Unity appointed him president of the Southern Provincial Board. At the same time he became presiding minister of the Salem congregation. In 1857 he attended the 27th General Synod at Herrnhut, and was elected by that Synod a member of the Elders' Conference of the Unity. While a member of that body he made an official visit to the Danish West Indies, two visits to Labrador, and several visitations in Great Britain. Many of the well-known views of those shores and various mission stations in circulation are sketches made by him on these visits. He was president of the 28th General Synod in 1869, and by that Synod was elected to the Episcopacy and was consecrated July 7, 1869, at Herrnhut, by Bishops Ernst Reichel, James La Trobe and George F. Bahnson. During his long ministry in America he was an indefatigable student of the early history of the Church in America and of the regions in which its work was done, and with tongue and pen diligently brought the fruits of his researches before the Church, not in the spirit of the mere antiquary, but for the purpose of enlightening his cotemporaries on the labors and experiences, the principles and aims of former times, in order to awaken more interest both in the conservative and aggressive work of the Church and to qualify those who labored "in the living present" and discussed questions of church polity and activity, to do this more intelligently and wisely than those can do who know no past and proceed on the assumption that all earnest and intelligent effort has its beginning with their generation and chiefly with themselves. He is the author of interesting and valuable contributions to American Moravian Church History, which are now highly prized by those who are best qualified to appreciate their value and to understand the nature and amount of labor involved in their production. These are "Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall from 1755 to 1855; and of the Reunions of its former Pupils, 1854 and 1855;" "The Moravians in North Carolina;" "The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum), commonly called Moravians, in North America, A.D. 1734–1748;" and much matter found in the eight

October 1st, 1815, it was my duty to preach the sermon, which was on the text; "The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men." Titus 2, 11. In the afternoon the numerously attended funerals of Tobias Böckel[43] and little William Gundt took place. I had the honor of accompanying my revered father to the graveyard. The trombone choir performed in a masterly manner, and we had so much longer time to listen to them because both the graves were too short, and had to be lengthened in the presence of the waiting congregation. I also assisted in the love-feast in remembrance of the departed. It was truly edifying. In the evening I played on the excellent organ at the liturgical service.

October 2d.—Visited the Widows' House and elsewhere, and wrote to friend W. After coffee, I took a pleasant walk with papa and Levin to Mr. Jones' on the Lehigh.

October 3d.—I held the English service for the children, who were assembled in numbers, but seemed lost in the large church. I enjoyed an excellent dinner and vesper at Brother and Sister Schaaf's with papa and the

volumes of the *Brüder Blatt*, from 1854–1857, of which he was editor. He was a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of the Moravian Historical Society. He also published a valuable atlas of Moravian Missions. He died in office, May 23, 1878.

[43] Tobias Böckel, born February 14, 1740, in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Pa., was the son of Frederick Böckel and wife Anna Elizabeth, m. n. Rohrbach. He married Anna Barbara Heckedorn, of Catores Township, York County, who died May 10, 1823. He died September 27, 1815, and was survived by three children: George, Godfrey and Rosina. George lived in Lancaster, Pa., and was the father of James Beckel and Ann Eliza (Cooper); Godfrey lived in Philadelphia, where there are descendants, and died at Bethlehem, in 1872; Rosina was married to George W. Neisser, of Philadelphia, who died at Bethlehem, September 1803; her sons were William G. Neisser, born in Philadelphia, 1796, died at Bethlehem, June 10, 1859; Charles F. Neisser, born at Bethlehem, in 1803 and died here in 1832. Her second husband was Charles Kafka. Another daughter of Tobias Böckel was Susan Benigna, the first wife of John Frederick Rauch; she died in 1811.

Brethren Frueauff and Meder[44] from Nazareth, after which I took a walk with my visiting friend, Kummer, taking tea in the evening at Owen Rice's, jr.

October 4th.—On this, my birthday, I received much love and kindness, both from my family and from friends. My brother-in-law and sister with their little ones were with us, and joy and merriment reigned in the family circle. Between dinner and vesper the church and steeple were visited in company, after which I followed these dear ones to Nazareth, they in the carriage, I on horseback. That evening I joined the teachers, the Inspector and Pastor in a friendly glass of wine.

October 5th was pleasantly passed.

October 6th.—In the forenoon I rode on a visit to the friend of my youth, Frederick Wolle,[45] who lived three miles away,[46] and we recalled former times together. I and mine drank coffee at Brother and Sister Frueauff's and took tea in the evening with the Sensemans.[47]

October 7th.—Visited here and there in company with the lively Edward, and took vesper, together with Brother Kummer, at mother Wolle's.[48]

October 8th.—It rained all day. I preached to the congregation: "Of His fullness have we all received, and

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[44] The Rev. John Meder, of whom a biographical sketch is given in a footnote on page 50 of part 2 of Vol. IV of the Transactions.

[45] John Frederick Wolle, afterwards merchant at Bethlehem.

[46] At Jacobsburg.

[47] The parents of the late Comenius Senseman, of Nazareth, whose first wife was Sophia Henrietta Reichel, daughter of the Rev. Gotthold Benjamin Reichel, the author of the narrative.

[48] Anna Rosina Wolle, m. n. Geyer, the widow of the Rev. Peter Wolle, for 29 years missionary in the West Indies; born January 19, 1761, at Ottenhayn near Herrnhut, Saxony; married July 21, 1783. After leaving the West Indies they came to Nazareth, in 1812, where her husband died November 20, 1813. Afterwards she came to Bethlehem and lived part of the time in the Widows' House and part of the time with her son Jacob, landlord of the "Sun Inn." She died July 8, 1845. They were the ancestors of all the Wolles of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, Allentown and Philadelphia.

grace for grace." Took dinner at the Frueauff's. The dear pastor went with me to vesper at my sister's, where Sister Sturges from New York was present with her sons. She is paying a visit of several days in Nazareth, and offered her carriage to me and the Seidel family, to take us to Easton to-morrow, which was a wished-for trip.

October 9th.—Thither we made this excursion in beautiful weather. The place has grown greatly in several years, and its situation is incomparable. We ordered dinner at Mr. Sebring's, and enjoyed it very much. We walked about before and afterwards, partly to make some purchases, and partly simply for pleasure. We visited the Lehigh and Delaware bridges; to please the delighted children a lot of geese were driven into the river, and we inspected Sitgreave's flocks of pigeons. He has great numbers of every kind, which he feeds so well that they do not fly far, and do no harm. The return was even more pleasant than the going. At home we had, as was the case almost every evening, the agreeable company of Brethren Frueauff, Van Vleck[49] and Kummer. In the course of the evening I called with my brother-in-law on some good friends in the place.

October 10th.—I passed a couple of hours in the forenoon pleasantly with him and my sister in the Single Sisters' House, at the invitation of the hospitable "Pflegerin" and Directress. I was taken from room to room, and also into the girls' school. My wish to ascend the Hall steeple was accomplished shortly before dinner, and my good brother-in-law and his son Edward accompanied me. It struck a quarter of twelve while we were up there. The noon bell for the meal had not been rung and I was emboldened to offer my services, as a practitioner thereon, being not wholly a novice in the art. But my temerity cost me dear; for not only did my little

[49] The Rt. Rev. Jacob Van Vleck. For brief biographical sketch see p. 49, part 2, Vol. IV, of the Transactions.

friend scream out loud with fright, but the rope, which was fastened down stairs in the dining room to a cupboard, suddenly upset it, and threw a quantity of plates, fortunately tin ones, about the room, to the astonishment of the staring servants. I did not immediately acknowledge the unintentional trick, which caused much laughter in the house, and founded a new monument to me. In the afternoon I went to Gnadenthal, where the friendly Schlaubachs had invited us to vesper. It was a particularly lovely walk. The youngsters from the Hall are now constant visitors to these fields, to get the many chestnuts to be found there.

October 11th.—Rode to Friedensthal this morning, and in the evening walked to Old Nazareth.

October 12th.—Held the children's service and in the evening the service of song, at which Mr. Doylan and his wife were present. They have just arrived here from Savannah, and have left their hopeful son at the Hall. They traveled nine hundred miles in their carriage, leaving a daughter at Bethlehem, and intended, on their return journey which they begin to-morrow, to pass through Salem. Brother Vogler came to-day from Philadelphia, to cheer me on my homeward journey. How this was to be made, still seemed in doubt. My horse had been so lamed by bad shoeing, that he could scarcely stir from the place. Moreover he had been bled and closed with medicine without my consent. Only friend Vogler's energy set me afloat. He took the animal with him to Bethlehem to-day, and I promised to follow to-morrow.

October 13th.—"Up, brethren, and be strong, the day of parting has come!" was the word of to-day. A day of pain it was indeed, for in the morning I had to bid adieu to my dear sister and her children, to the dear teachers of my youth, and to other worthy friends. My helpful brother-in-law took me in his carriage to Bethlehem, where I spent a very pleasant day with my dear

parents. Different matters were attended to, and calls made here and there ; for instance, to Matthew Schultz,[50] Missionary Schnall,[51] whose wife lay on a sick bed ; the Oerters,[52] Sister Cunow,[53] Rice, etc. After the family meal we all went together to the Lehigh, and Brother Fetter was so kind as to take us to the Island. After coffee I accompanied my beloved brother-in-law part of his way home, bidding him a hearty farewell. Afterward it was proved that I could travel home on horseback with Brother Vogler. For, if the lame horse had not gotten better, my stay would have been prolonged, and I would have made the return journey by stage through Philadelphia, in regard to which the necessary arrangements had been agreed upon. Brother Vogler took my horse to Allentown this evening, leaving his for my use. The remaining hours were spent in the family circle, and in visiting the brethren and sisters in the house.

October 14th was the second sad farewell morning, for

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[50] Matthew Schultz, born September 19, 1752, at Juso near Cotbus in Lower Lusatia, joined the Brethren at Kleinwelka, in 1781, came to America and settled at Bethlehem, 1791. He married Rachel Frevel in 1796, and died April 5, 1826. They had no children.

[51] The Rev. John Schnall, born May 28, 1754, at Bethlehem, became chaplain of the unmarried men at Christiansbrunn in 1786. On March 27, 1791, he married Margaret Hasting. He was engaged in church-service nearly twenty-five years. He was minister at Gnadenthal for ten years, then they became missionaries among the Indians, at Fairfield, Canada, where they shared with the missionaries Jung and Dencke the hardships inflicted on the settlement by the United States troops. In 1813 he retired to Bethlehem, but re-entered the mission service in 1818. He died at New Fairfield, Canada, September 7, 1819; and his widow at Bethlehem, April 7, 1848. They had three daughters, one of whom married John Levering, of Lititz ; another, Charles Frederick Bagge, of Salem, N. C.; and the third, the Rt. Rev. John Christian Jacobson.

[52] Joseph Oerter and wife, Maria Justina, m. n. Hassè. He was the bookbinder at Bethlehem ; the father of the late John Oerter, the Rev. Lawrence F. Oerter, and Lydia (Oerter) Rice; the grandfather of the Rev. Albert L. Oerter and the Rev. Edmund A. Oerter ; and the great-grandfather of the Rev. William H. Oerter and the Rev. Maurice F. Oerter.

[53] The wife of the Rev. John Gebhard Cunow.

the final goodbye was to be said to the best of parents and their little ones, and to many worthy friends. Lonely was the way to Allentown. There again I had friend Vogler's good company, with whom I exchanged horses, taking mine again, for he had partly recovered, although he certainly limped somewhat until we got to Lititz, after which he was quite sound. We took dinner at Siegfried's, and stopped over night at Reading, a fine town, where an excellent bridge is being built over the Schuylkill, which we went to see after supper.

October 15th.—We took dinner in Reamstown. Some miles before reaching there, we passed a church, where four hundred to five hundred people were gathered; and more were continually streaming by on horseback. Some of those who came from Adamstown, told us on the way a great many terrible things about a dangerous sickness and sudden deaths in that and other more distant places. In the third hour we reached Lititz, after suffering from the heat. Our reception by Brother Jundt[54] was much pleasanter than last time, and he was

[54] John Jacob Jundt was the son of John Jundt, a silk weaver, and his wife Anna, m. n. Schweitzer, of Botmingen, near Basel, Switzerland, where he was born October 30, 1774. In his boyhood he worked in a cotton factory in Basel, and later learned his father's trade, but preferred agricultural labor. In his 17th year, after instruction by Pastor Raillard, he was confirmed and then connected himself with the Brethren's Society in Basel. In 1797 he went to Ebersdorf, from there to Gnadau, thence to Barby, to Kleinwelka and, finally, to Niesky, where he became a member of the Moravian Church and was employed as a gardener. From 1801–1807 he lived in Herrnhut, laboring part of the time as a gardener and part of the time as cook in the Brethren's House. While there the qualities which later rendered him such a useful man found recognition in his election as a member of the "Aufseher Collegium." In 1807 he came to America to assume the external and spiritual oversight of the unmarried men at Lititz, a position which he filled with much faithfulness till 1816, though it was not to his liking, and caused him many trials and much heaviness of heart. Hence perhaps the remark in the narrative. In December, 1816, he came to Bethlehem as steward and gardener of the Seminary for Young Ladies, a position which he filled with much ability for many years, and which he

agreeable and cordial. We visited different friends, besides making some acquaintances among the choir brethren.

October 16th.—In the morning walked with the Lititz "Pfleger" to the neighboring Warwick. We had a good dinner in the choir-house, and then had a pleasant vesper at Brother and Sister Levering's, in company with the Brethren Benade and Jundt. In the meanwhile the rest of the company, namely, the Brethren Vogler, Blum and Conrad, were ready for the journey, and I was obliged to start on horseback. The weather threatened rain, which, however, did not come; and beyond our expectations, it did not fall until we reached home. We soon reached Lancaster, seeing and speaking to several acquaintances on the way. We took supper and lodging at Michael's.

October 17th.—We got nearly as far as Yorktown before we breakfasted, and the delay caused us all, and me especially, a bad headache, to be ascribed to our empty stomachs. In the evening we reached Hanover, where Mr. Eichelberger gave us a kind reception.

October 18th.—We took breakfast in Tawnitown after a ride of sixteen miles. The inn was finely furnished, the people apparently Catholics. The room where we staid was all decorated with paintings and many saints, under which were edifying distiches. In the afternoon we left twenty miles behind us, reaching Fredericktown, where we lodged at Schaefer's, who has been deprived of his reason for some time, and had been so badly beaten at an election lately that he could scarcely walk. His house is not at all pleasant, as one may say; but there is no

found far more congenial, as he loved young people. For more than twelve years he was an eminently useful member of the "Aufseher Collegium" of the Bethlehem Congregation, his services being particularly valuable in the office of Inspector of Buildings and in the management of the farming interests of the settlement. He was married January 12, 1817, to Anna Susanna Hassè, of Nazareth. He died at Bethlehem, October 9, 1831.

better in the town, excepting one where the charges are enormous.

October 19th.—It was day before we started; nevertheless we made twenty miles before we got breakfast. This took place after we had crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry. But we refused breakfast and had a good dinner prepared, which we took at a large table. This was in the house of Mr. Williams. We were charmed with the beautiful scenery. We went through Charlestown, nineteen miles, to Wood's. Here we met a talkative and intelligent Virginian, who was taking his daughter on a visit to Philadelphia, where he has a son studying medicine. He had lived not far from Graceham, and had been well acquainted with the late Brother Schlegel,[55] whom he held in high esteem. There were many peddlers and teamsters here, who could only look on at the good supper, something not easy for hungry people to do. Thirty-nine miles.

October 20th.—We went seventeen miles through Winchester to Newtown before we breakfasted. In the afternoon we passed through Middletown and Staubers-town, where we enjoyed beer and fresh pepper-nuts at a fat, jolly, German woman's, reaching Woodstock, where, at the house of Mr. Ball, a thoughtful young man, we found everything in the finest order. Forty-one miles.

October 21st.—We got up very early, and after fifteen miles reached Lee, where we breakfasted. The road was much better to-day than the days before, when it was as hard as a rock and quite smooth. This made

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[55] The Rev. John Frederick Schlegel, son of the Rev. Frederick Schlegel, who was minister at Warwick (Lititz), York and Bethel, and, from 1764–70, Superintendent of the Jamaica Mission. John Frederick was also a missionary in the West Indies, and on his return to this country was stationed at Bethel and at Graceham, where he died May 30, 1805. He was born June 9, 1753 and was ordained a Deacon May 15, 1785, by the Rt. Rev. Johannes de Watteville.

horse and rider much more tired than softer ground. It was of great use to Brother Vogler, who was obliged to return to our night's lodging, for he had left under his pillow his pocket-book, containing more than $400. All attempts to get a fresh horse on the mountain were fruitless, and he was obliged to take his own back. After ten miles he left him to be fed, and went on on foot, and had the good fortune to receive his plethoric pocket-book from the innkeeper, who had gotten it from the honest black servant, and was soon induced to surrender it to the owner. This circumstance kept us from reaching our intended lodging for the night. We went five miles farther to Newmarket, when, late in the evening, our friend, fortunate if delayed, arrived. In Newmarket I had the pleasure of getting better acquainted with Pastor Henkel, who, with his wife and whole household, showed me much kindness. I took supper with them, after which all joined in the verse, "Nun danket alle Gott," etc., (Now let us praise the Lord, etc.) Afterwards Mr. Henkel and his wife accompanied me to their children's, Dr. Sal. Henkel, and the printer's. The Schober translation of the "Spiritual Scenes" lay there prettily bound. Dr. Henkel has a large pharmacy and a numerous library, which was shown to me. He writes much for publication, for which he is preparing an English translation of the Augsburg Confession and other confessions of faith as a supplement to a new English Hymnbook, the greater part of which his father had composed himself, on the subjects of the Gospels and Epistles for Sundays. I was strongly urged to stay over Sunday, and to preach the sermon ; but it could not be. The people gave us a hearty farewell, and Pastor Henkel accompanied me to Meene's Hotel, where he conversed a little while with the company. The inhabitants of the town hold him in affection and esteem. Day after to-

morrow he is to go on a preaching trip to Ohio. Twenty miles.

October 22d.—We went eighteen miles to Kisseltown before breakfast. In the evening we reached Hanger's, seventeen miles, in good time. Twenty-five miles.

October 23d.—We passed by Staunton in the morning, leaving it on our right. The low lying town was quite shrouded in smoke. We made twelve miles farther to Greenville, where we breakfasted. Hardly had we gone another twelve miles and left behind the little village of Fairfield, when two travellers overtook us. They were Messrs. Davis and Durrett, very agreeable men of property and intelligence. In their company, and particularly in that of the former, we found much desired entertainment. He had been a school master in Virginia, and had applied himself to the study of the law, merely for pleasure, as he said. These gentlemen halted again to bait, and thus did not reach Lexington till long after we did. It was quite dark when we got there, but we soon rejoiced in a fire in the chimney-place and an appetizing supper. The day's journey was forty-three miles.

October 24th.—A man of the name of Noland joined us, and we were seven horsemen, which increased our liveness, as well as the dust, with which a violent wind, sweeping over the sandy road, so covered our clothes that they were a Spanish brown. We breakfasted at Donthate's after I had tuned and played on the piano-forte, and the ladies sang beautifully. Not far from Pattensburg[56] a man met us who advised us to ford the James River. "It was not deep," he said, but his wet horse told another tale. It turned out afterwards that he had had a dispute with the bridge toll-taker and had angrily jumped into the river quite near the bridge. He succeeded, however, in crossing. We took the bridge. We were soon met

[56] In Bottetourt County, Va.

by twenty Cherokee Indians, who acted in an extremely friendly manner, made their greetings, and each of them begged for a quarter, when they would have fared well. But we gave some of them six-pence. In Amsterdam we again found good quarters at the widow Seacat's. Forty-one miles.

October 25th.—We started early, and had the company of the aforesaid gentlemen for seven miles, when we parted unwillingly, they to travel to Kentucky. The other man left us soon after to take a shorter way to Wilkes county in our State. We got our breakfast farther on at Mr. Clenningham's, at Roanoke, and had a good road until we got into the mountains and crossed the Maggidy Gap. In the evening we were at Calloway on the Blackwater, where there was little room in the house, the arrangements being still unfinished. The fare was simple, too, and all the beds were in an upper room, to which we ascended by means of a ladder on the outside of the house. After we had lain down, the host came and nailed foot mats before the wide open windows. The glass was nearly all broken, and the usual way of stopping it up with a hat was "no good." Thirty-four miles.

October 26th.—We had to pay only $2 here for lodging, food and horse fodder, instead of $5 or even more, as was generally the case. We made the seventeen miles over the mountain to Mr. Gut's before breakfast. There we had a good meal. The old Gut couple were not contented to live with their children, because they knew nobody in the neighborhood. They talked a good deal about going away. An old houseclock, belonging to them, was shown to the clockmaker for repairs, but they could not be made for want of tools. The old mother declared that nothing was wanting but warm water to wash it thoroughly. In the evening we reached Staple's,

where we found excellent cider. We paid our bill that evening, so that we could start very early the next morning. Forty miles.

October 27th.—We rose at four o'clock, and were soon started. The landlord gave his orders to the negroes without leaving his bed. After twelve miles we stopped at Scales', where the impatient Salemites were soon at table. It was twenty-four miles to Germantown, which were lightened for the horses by frequent walking. We stopped for three hours at Dr. Bowman's for dinner, where we heard the sorrowful news of dear little Edward von Schweinitz's[57] recent death. At four o'clock we began the last fourteen miles of the lonely, well-known road, which were quickly travelled. Delight took possession of us, as we neared our beloved Salem, and great was our joy and heartfelt gratitude to return well and hearty hither, where the friendship and love of cherished friends promised to make our longer sojourn so sweet.

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[57] The eldest son of the late Rev. Lewis David von Schweinitz.

A SKETCH

OF THE

MORAVIAN ACTIVITY IN NEW SWEDEN AND ITS VICINITY.

BY J. TAYLOR HAMILTON.

A SKETCH OF THE MORAVIAN ACTIVITY IN NEW SWEDEN AND ITS VICINITY.

WERE it possible, at this late date, to ascertain with a measurable degree of certainty just when Count Zinzendorf's thoughts were first turned to the region of the Delaware, as affording a fitting scope for evangelistic efforts of the most liberal kind, the inquiry would doubtless be attended with interest. Certain it is that George Bœhnisch was dispatched to investigate the religious needs of the German emigrants in 1734, and Spangenberg after him in 1735. And certain it is that the latter, in his memorable report to the *Pilger Gemeine* at the close of the year 1739, forged the links riveted at the Synod at Gotha, which were to for ever connect the *Unitas Fratrum* with the religious development of the American Colonies.

Whether, as some have surmised, the young Count's philanthropic interest in those emigrant compatriots of his who had penetrated the primeval forests of the West, dated from boyhood's days, when as a pupil in Francke's pædagogium he became aware of urgent requests dispatched to Halle for pastors and teachers on behalf of these adherents of the Augsburg Confession in the New World, the records do certify us that a considerable portion of the fifth to the fifteenth sessions, *i. e.*, June 14 to 19, of the Synod of the Brethren held in 1740, in the grand salon of the *Hotel Zum Mohren*, at Gotha, a gathering graced by the presence of the prince of Ger-

man poets as an interested visitor, was devoted to a discussion of prospective activity in America, to be undertaken by Bishop David Nitschmann and by Zinzendorf himself, with the assistance of a corps of coadjutors then selected.

There intervened journeyings hither and thither, to be sure, important deliberations, such as those of the *Lehr Synode* at Marienborn, December 5 to 31, 1740, and a temporary period of activity at Geneva, not to mention the memorable experiences at the Synodical Conference in London in September following. Nevertheless a longing for the privilege of personally advancing the cause of Christ and of promoting true unity amongst believers in the Colonies, seems to have become an uppermost yearning of Zinzendorf's. Led by it, he arrives in Philadelphia during the month of December, 1741, in the most opportune time. Antes has issued a call for evangelical union amongst the Germans of Pennsylvania, which indicates where he may join his endeavors with those of a kindred soul. Into the budding project the exiled Saxon nobleman casts himself with all the ardor of his enthusiastic nature. He is scarcely back from naming the new Moravian settlement in the Forks of the Delaware, on Christmas Eve, when on New Year's Eve he preaches in the Reformed Church at Germantown on 1 Tim. 3: 16, and during the next three days is a leader at the first of the Pennsylvania Synods—that splendidly, even if prematurely, conceived evangelical alliance of German speaking Christians in Pennsylvania. A mastermind in the successive meetings of this body at Falkner's Swamp, on January 13; at Oley, February 10; at Germantown, March 10, April 7 and May 5, and at Philadelphia, June 2, each session lasting three days, Zinzendorf also addresses open letters to adherents of various creeds and shades of opinion, urging union. After Easter

comes his formal call as pastor of the Lutherans of Philadelphia, a call which he accepts on May 30 in virtue of his admission to the Lutheran ministry by the Faculty of Tübingen years before. In accordance with his utterly unsectarian spirit he agrees to serve without pay, after formally renouncing his rank and title in the house of the Governor and in the presence of leading officials of the Colony. And in the same spirit he erects on Race Street a church at his own expense, and seeks to supply neighborhoods destitute of Gospel privileges with evangelists who shall serve free of charge. In this the Moravians are ready to heartily co-operate, and with a purpose as far as possible removed from a desire for sectarian aggrandizement. Their number has been materially increased by the arrival of a company of fifty-six persons who reached Philadelphia *via* New York, on June 7, 1742. This body of emigrants, and several like it in succeeding years, is known as a "sea congregation," from the fact that these several companies of colonists were regularly organized as congregations and maintained discipline and worship so as to form a floating church during the long and tedious westward voyage.

It was one of this First Sea Congregation, Paul Daniel Bryzelius,[1] who inaugurated the work of the Brethren's Church in New Jersey, not to gain adherents for the denomination, but purely to lead souls to Christ, though in this very respect misunderstandings on the part of others gave occasion for much maligning and bitter opposition.

Born in 1713, at Häradshammer, in the diocese of Linköping, in Sweden, he had studied at the University of Upsala. Just when and where he had become identified with the Moravians, does not clearly appear. On January 4, 1743, as one of his last transactions before

[1] In 1760 he left the Brethren and joined the Lutherans. Died, 1771.

leaving Pennsylvania, Zinzendorf, as bishop of the *Unitas Fratrum,* had ordained him a presbyter at Frankford, and commissioned him for special service amongst his fellow-countrymen who had settled in New Jersey.

As far back as 1638, the Swedes had established themselves on both sides of the Delaware River; but the Governor of New Sweden, his excellency John Printz, had returned home in 1652, and three years later doughty Peter Stuyvesant, with his seven ships and six hundred men, made himself master of the situation and absorbed New Sweden into the New Netherlands, until in turn Sir Robert Carr, nine years later, unfurled the standard of his Britannic majesty, Charles the Second, who in naming the colony east of the Delaware designed it to be a memorial of the gallant defense of the most important of the Channel Islands against the Parliament and Oliver by Sir George Carteret, one of the patentees of the new principality.

Sweden's lamentable failure to secure the integrity of her colony had its counterpart in a lack of provision for maintaining the pastoral succession in the parishes established by the authority of the Archbishop of Upsala. Independent development had not been attained, yet a prompt filling of vacancies by the dispatch of duly accredited theologians from the home land had not been achieved.

In consequence of this lack of expeditious over-shepherding, the good people of Racoon and Penn's Neck had been without the due exposition of the Word, and the fitting enjoyment of sacred rites and ordinances for quite a period. For in 1741, their pastor, Peter Tranberg, had found it expedient to accept a transfer to the vacant Christina parish, and Olaf Malander, his destined successor, had not enjoyed ordination owing to the death of pastor Drylander, who with Tranberg had been commis-

sioned to impart this formal admission to holy orders. Not empowered to administer the sacraments, save that of baptism in cases of urgent necessity, he had rendered ministrations that were at best partial, for only ten months. Hence religious destitution, actual and absolute in degree for a considerable season, had been experienced in the aforesaid locality.

When, therefore, in January, 1743, Bryzelius proposed to supply the need, pastor Tranberg accorded him a hearty and fraternal welcome. The house of Jöran Kyn, near Maurice River, being open to him for the purpose, he preached his first sermon with acceptance, on January 26. Nor did he confine himself to the Swedes.

A neglected German Lutheran Church, near Cohansey Creek, possibly the present Bridgetown, was opened to his ministrations, so that Leonard Schnell[2] was summoned thither to assist him. For the Swedish churches at Racoon, Noraticons and at Penn's Neck—the latter the tract between Salem Creek and the Delaware—were his proper sphere, and additional appointments were before long made at Wicacoa, Manathanim, Ammas' Land, Potomack and Kalckenhucken. At the first mentioned place Bryzelius received and accepted a formal call from thirty-three members of the congregation, and moved thither with his family. For almost a year he served this parish on Beaver Creek to the satisfaction of a majority of the people in this vicinity; but trouble was in store.

On the twenty-third of December, 1743, excitement ran high in the community. Two months before this Magister Naesman had come from Sweden to America

[2] Born in Anspach; came to Pennsylvania with the First Sea Congregation; evangelist, chiefly in Southeastern Pennsylvania; ordained presbyter by John De Watteville, Spangenberg and Cammerhoff, October 27, 1748, during the Synod at Bethlehem; subsequently joined the Lutherans and preached at Macungie and Saucon.

as pastor of the Swedish Church in Philadelphia, though he had not as yet succeeded in calling a parish meeting, this gathering not being destined to come off until March 26 of the year following. Now this dignitary effected a forcible entrance into the church at Racoon, on the day before Christmas Eve, and there and then fulminated his denunciations against Bryzelius. The majority of the community, however, upheld the man whom they regarded as having been lawfully called and settled over them as their pastor, so that Naesman's challenge of Bryzelius to produce his parchment as a Master of Arts failed to prove as impressive as had been expected. The next move of the new claimant was to employ fifteen stalwart clubmen, some of whom are gravely credited with a true Celtic penchant for the logic of the stick, thus to adduce an *argumentum gravius* in the settlement of the question of ministerial precedence. Their efforts to shut out the choice of the people from the exercise of what they conceived to be rights duly conferred upon him by themselves, in virtue of the neglect of dignitaries across the Atlantic, resulted in a disturbance of the peace; and, on complaint of the members of the congregational consistory, the Governor lodged the fifteen doughty supporters of the Magister in jail.

Next March, however, a certain tavern-keeper, whose custom had begun to feel the disastrous effects of the Moravian's preaching, made alliance with the evangelist's opponent, and entered complaint against him as "a common breaker of the king's peace," alleging that his sermons had been the source of disturbances. When Bryzelius was given a hearing before Judge Hingsman, of Gloucester, though defended by no lawyer, this gentleman saw into the animus of the suit, and gave him permission to continue to preach meantime at Penn's Neck and Maurice River, on his giving a verbal promise to

appear at the next session of the court. Nor did the grand jury then find a true bill against him, but in a friendly manner advised a desisting from ministrations at Racoon, until the points at issue had been adjusted by arbitration. And until this settlement of the difficulty the Society of Friends offered to accommodate him and his people, by placing a meeting-house at his disposal. The thoughtful kindness was accepted, and larger congregations than ever gathered. But the most complete vindication of the course and conduct of Bryzelius came at a later date, when his erstwhile opponent apologized for his procedure.

Just when Bryzelius and his coadjutors ceased to officiate is uncertain. Acrelius, in his "History of New Sweden," mentions that Laurence Nyberg,[3] when shut out of his church at Lancaster, in 1744, came hither, and that Abraham Reinke,[4] the record of whose official acts in these parts reaches from 1745 to 1752, also preached in this region in August of this year. Yet these were scarcely fixed and permanent appointments, for the records of the "Pennsylvania Synod," held at Fredericktown, Pa., in March, 1745, refer to a formal request for a preacher on the part of the Swedes of Maurice River, Penn's Neck and Racoon. Not resting content to negotiate only in writing, a deputation moreover previously proceeded for this purpose to Bethlehem, in order to ar-

[3] See Biographical Note, p. 54, Vol. IV of The Transactions. From 1752–1755, it appears that Nyberg served the Church in Dublin, Ireland.

[4] Son of Peter Reinke, merchant, and Magdalene, m. n. Petersen, born at Stockholm, April 17, 1712. Student at Jena, 1735, a member of Christian Renatus Zinzendorf's brotherhood there. At Marienborn, 1741. Active in London and Yorkshire, 1741–1744. Comes to America with Spangenberg, November 1, 1744. Minister at Nazareth, 1744–1747, itinerating also in New Jersey. Ordained presbyter by Spangenberg and Böhler, February 7, 1745, at Bethlehem; Philadelphia, 1747–1749; Lancaster, 1749–1750; Philadelphia, 1751; itinerant, 1753–55; Bethlehem, 1755–1760, serving amongst the rest as archivist. Died at Bethlehem, April 7, 1760.

range the details of the appointment. For the Bethlehem Diary, which, on January 24, notes that certain Swedes bitterly regret the departure of Bryzelius from their vicinity, chronicles, on February 13, the visit of two Swedes from Maurice River and Racoon, "two chief men among their people, for their own profit and to bring a call signed by twelve men," soliciting the permanent ministrations of Brother Reinke.

Their visit led to his being formally appointed to the work of the ministry in the Jerseys. But ill health, a feature which figures prominently in the records of the early Moravian undertakings of this Colony, apparently notable in those days for its fever-breeding capacity, rendered his stay a brief one. Nyberg took his place.

In fellowship with him were associated in the ensuing years a band of efficient and energetic evangelists, chief amongst whom were Sven Roseen,[5] Thomas Yarrel,[6] Owen Rice[7] and Joseph Powell.[8] The ministers sta-

[5] Born October 17, 1708, at Tokarp, near Gothenburg, Sweden; studied at Upsala and Jena and in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Lindheim; 1747, came to America; itinerated in Pennsylvania, Jersey from Cape May to Pawlin's Kill and in Maryland; ordained a deacon by John de Watteville, Spangenberg and Cammerhoff, October 28, 1748; 1749, retired owing to ill health; died at Maguntschie (Emmaus) December 15, 1750.

[6] An Englishman; came with First Sea Congregation, 1742; 1755–1751, itinerates in Jersey and Staten Island; 1751, minister at Newport; 1757, New York City; 1756, returns to England; minister at Ayr, 1767; Malmesbury, 1768; Bath, 1771; Bedford, 1781.

[7] Born at Haverfordwest, Wales; came with First Sea Congregation, 1742; itinerates in Jersey and New England and minister in Philadelphia; ordained at the same time as Roseen; 1750–1754, New York City; 1754, returned to Europe, and served various congregations in England and Ireland amongst the rest Kingswood, 1758; Leominster, 1759; Bath, 1765; Bristol, 1767; Gracefield, 1778; Devonport, 1780; Gomersal, 1783; died at Gomersal, Yorkshire, March 12, 1785.

[8] Born near Whitchurch, Shropshire, England, 1710; came to America in 1742; itinerant on the Neshaminy, in Dansbury, N. J., Staten Island, Long Island, and Maryland; ordained a deacon May 24, 1756, at Bethlehem, by Hehl; missionary amongst the Indians and in the West Indies; died September 23, 1774, at Sichem, Dutchess Co., N. Y.

tioned in Philadelphia also itinerated hither. In fact, if the next fifteen years are embraced in one survey, the records show that in addition to the before-mentioned, the following also rendered service: Daniel Neubert,[9] John Okely,[10] David Bruce,[11] Andrew Ostrom,[12] Joseph Shaw,[13] Christopher Pyrlæus,[14] James Burnside,[15] Matthew

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[9] Born March 4, 1704, at Königswalden, Saxony; 1730, joined the Brethren at Herrnhut; labored in Holland, and assisted in building Heerendyk and Pilgerruh; 1742, came to Bethlehem; served in Philadelphia, and various country congregations; ordained August, 1754, at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, by Spangenberg and others; 1764, retired to Nazareth; 1772, moved to Bethlehem; died at Bethlehem, January 3, 1788.

[10] Born May 26, 1721, at Bedford, England. Came to America with the First Sea Congregation; itinerated in Pennsylvania and Jersey; ordained December 23, 1751, at Bethlehem, by Spangenberg and Hehl; for many years scrivener and conveyancer for the Economy at Bethlehem; 1774, commissioned Justice of the Peace by Governor Penn; during the Revolutionary War became Assistant Commissary in the Continental service; 1780, settled at Lancaster, Pa.; died May 15, 1792, in Lancaster County.

[11] Born at Edinburgh; joined the Brethren in 1740; accompanied Zinzendorf to America in 1741; elder of the English congregation at Nazareth; itinerates amongst English-speaking settlers; 1749, missionary amongst the Indians at Wechquetank, where he died, July 9, 1749.

[12] A member of the German Society, organized in London by Zinzendorf, in 1737; came to Pennsylvania in 1743; withdrew from the Church in 1746.

[13] Born in London; designed for the Church of England, but prevented by sickness from completing his studies; surveyor; came to Pennsylvania with the First Sea Congregation; served at Shekomeko and in Jersey; 1747, to the West Indies as a missionary, perishing at sea in October.

[14] Born April 25, 1713, in Voigtland; an alumnus of Leipzig; came to America in 1740; ordained February 12, 1742, at Oley, Pa., by Zinzendorf and Nitschmann; 1742, assisted Zinzendorf in Philadelphia; 1743, studied the Mohawk language in the Indian country; 1744, opened a school to prepare missionaries for service amongst the Indians; 1749–50, taught in the Boys' School at Fredericktown; November, 1751, sailed to England, where he labored amongst the rest at Gomersal, 1757 and 1763; Mirfield, 1757 and 1762; Wyke, 1760; Kingswood, 1766; in 1770 he returned to Germany; died May 28, 1785, at Herrnhut.

[15] Born in the County of Meath, Ireland, June 1708; a member of the Anglican Church, and well educated; emigrated to Georgia, 1743; became acquainted with the missionary John Hagen, and in 1746 joined the church at Bethlehem; itinerated amongst English speaking colonists; bought a tract on the Manocacy near Bethlehem in 1749, and farmed there till his death, 1755; was the first representative of Northampton Co. in the Provincial Assembly, being elected a member at Easton in 1752.

G. Gottschalk,[16] Matthew Reutz,[17] Lewis Hübner,[18] George Neisser,[19] James Greening[20], Charles Godfrey Rundt,[21]

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[16] Born September 8, 1715, at Arnswalde in Brandenburg; joined the Brethren at Marienborn, 1740; German preacher in London, England, 1744; later served in Schleswig, at Berthelsdorf and Herrnhut; came to America in January, 1747; itinerated in Pennsylvania, Jersey, Maryland and Virginia; died at Bethlehem, August 5, 1748.

[17] Came to Pennsylvania in 1743; 1744, at Nazareth; 1745, Bethlehem; 1746, Philadelphia; 1747–1749, at Bethlehem; ordained a presbyter October 27, 1748, at Bethlehem, by John de Watteville, Spangenberg and Cammerhof; 1750, Monocacy (Graceham), Maryland; 1751, Heidelberg; 1752–53, itinerates in New Jersey; died October 7, 1753, at Oldman's Creek, while preaching.

[18] Born at Rommelshausen, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, on December 10, 1717; came to Philadelphia, 1739; was converted through the preaching of Zinzendorf there and at Oley, joined the church at Bethlehem, October 2, 1743; 1746 itinerated in New Jersey; 1748, in New England as far as Boston; accompanied Bishop Nathanael Seidel on a visitation to Surinam; 1757 employed in the school at Bethlehem; in October removed to Nazareth; 1763 undertook the management of the pottery in Bethlehem; died at Bethlehem, September 23, 1796.

[19] Born April 11, 1715, at Sehlen, in Moravia. His parents emigrated to Herrnhut in 1723, with his grandmother Judith, daughter of George Jäschke, of Sehlen. He was one of the original occupants of the first house in Bethlehem, having come to America as one of the colony to Georgia in 1735, and to Pennsylvania in 1737. He was the secretary of a number of convocations of the "Pennsylvania Synod" and was the first diarist, schoolmaster and postmaster at Bethlehem, and served many of the American congregations, having been ordained a deacon October 27, 1748, by John de Watteville, Spangenberg and Cammerhof, at Bethlehem, and a presbyter on January 19, 1755, at Bethel, by Spangenberg and Hehl. Died in Philadelphia November 1, 1784. His remains were reinterred at Bethlehem, October, 1886.

[20] An apothecary in London; came to Pennsylvania with the "Second Sea Congregation," in 1743.

[21] Born May 31, 1713, at Königsberg, Prussia; served sixteen years in a Holstein regiment as musician, his instrument being the hautboy, and went through many campaigns of the War of the Austrian Succession; 1747, joined the Brethren at Herrnhut; 1751, called to America; 1752–1755, itinerated amongst the Indians; ordained a deacon August 17, 1755, at Warwick, by Hehl; 1756–1758, at Lancaster; 1759–1762, itinerated in country congregations in Pennsylvania, and Director of the Schreiber-Collegium at Bethlehem; 1763, itinerated in New Jersey and about Philadelphia; died August 19, 1764, at Bethlehem.

Hector Gambold,[22] John Wade,[23] Richard Utley,[24] Joachim Senseman,[25] John Leighton,[26] Jacob Rogers,[27] Reinhard Ronner[28] and Otto Krogstrup.[29] Amongst their appoint-

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[22] Born at Puncheston, Pembrookshire, Wales, September 4, 1719; came to America with the First Sea Congregation, 1742; 1743, New York City; 1748, Philadelphia; then serving at Oldman's Creek, N. J., in the Oblong, New York, and on Staten Island; retired to Bethlehem; died there November 10, 1788.

[23] A member of the Moravian congregation in London; came to Pennsylvania, 1746; itinerated among the Friends in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and served at Penn's Neck, Pile's Grove, Racoon, Maurice River, Burlington and Trenton; was ordained in 1749.

[24] Born February 22, 1720, in Yorkshire, England; 1743, came to Pennsylvania; itinerant about Neshaminy; teacher at Fredericktown and Oley; ordained a presbyter August 14, 1746, at Philadelphia, by Spangenberg; minister and itinerant in Jersey, Newport, R. I., Philadelphia, Bethabara, Salem, N. C.; 1771–1774, warden at Salem, N. C.; died October 9, 1775, at Salem.

[25] Came from Hesse Cassel to Pennsylvania in 1742, with the "First Sea Congregation;" 1743–1755, missionary to the Indians; one of the few who escaped from the massacre at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, November 24, 1755; ordained a deacon in 1749; died as a missionary in Jamaica, W. I., 1772.

[26] Born in Dundee, Scotland, December 8, 1706; losing his parents at an early age, he came to London in 1723, a baker by trade; was converted through the instrumentality of Molther, 1739; 1742, employed in the school at "Lamb's Inn" (Broadoaks in Essex); came to Pennsylvania with the "Second Sea Congregation," 1743; served in the school at Germantown; itinerated in Maryland, New England and the Oblong, N. Y.; served also in Bethlehem and Philadelphia. His last post was at Maurice River. Here he was overtaken with a stroke whilst in the pulpit on August 3, 1755. Being removed to Bethlehem, he improved slightly, and was able to go out of doors for a time during the Summer of the following year, but suffered a relapse, and died on August 23, 1756.

[27] A deacon of the Anglican Church in Bedford, who became associated with the Brethren about the year 1738; preached at Ockbrook, 1740; Bristol, 1746; London, 1751; in 1752 came to America; minister in Philadelphia and New York; 1758, called to Bethabara, N. C., as rector of "Dobbs' Parish;" 1760, Philadelphia; 1762, returned to England; 1764, minister at Bedford; 1768, Malmesbury.

[28] Came to Pennsylvania in 1742; ordained in 1743; served the Church in Philadelphia, Tulpehocken, Muddy Creek, the Jersey Minnisinks and Warwick; missionary on St. Thomas, 1750–1755.

[29] Born August 18, 1714, on the island of Fünen; became a Lutheran minister; joined the Brethren at Herrnhut in 1748; came to America, 1753;

ments, the chief were those of the Three Rivers, Lewes, Duck Creek, Maurice River, Penn's Neck, Racoon, Cohansey, Ammas' Land, Calkoen's Hook, Cape May, Egg Harbor, Bridgeton, Burlington, Middletown, Trenton, Crosswicks, Maidenhead, Cranberry, Princeton, Brunswick, Walpack and Pawlin's Kill.

Nothing could have been further removed than proselytism from the aim of these evangelists. To draw men and women into conscious personal fellowship with Christ—that was all; not to attach them to the Moravian Church as such. "We seek not yours, but you," could be said by these men with literal truth. Compensation was neither asked nor expected. Though dangers were sometimes braved, as in crossing the Delaware when great cakes of ice floating down stream in a Spring freshet crunched the sides of some primitive ferry; though wearisome fatigue was the common portion of the often foot-sore itinerant, and the discomforts of lodging in rudest cabins by night and of toiling through swampy wildernesses by day, were a frequent experience, and the coarse jibes of unsympathetic, sneering, godless men often accorded their message a dispiriting reception, compensation was not in consequence sought by drawing upon the good-will of those who did appreciate the unselfish heralding, through channels that would have been natural had there been the propagandist's zeal for organization. The evangelists were content to be at no charges amongst those to whose highest good they ministered, satisfied with a most frugal support furnished them by the industrious artisans and laborers who were practicing equal self-abnegation at the settlements in the Forks of the Delaware, that the word of God might be free to all in the land. To certify believers of their sure portion in

served in Philadelphia, Lititz, Graceham, York and Lancaster; was a gifted preacher; died at Bethlehem, October 10, 1785.

Christ, and to awaken those who slumbered in unrepentant sinfulness, was the aim of these early Moravian pioneers in the Jerseys—not to make proselytes for the Moravian Church. Indeed, the gathering of kindred souls into congregations that should form an integral part of that communion, was seemingly almost forced upon them, whenever it did take place.

Anything like permanence, or formal organization, apparently transpired only at the following five places: Maurice River, Penn's Neck, Walpack, Pawlin's Kill, Racoon and Oldman's Creek or Pile's Grove—or, as it was later designated, Woolwich.

Bryzelius was identified with the erection of a church at Maurice River, in Cumberland County. No description of any of these primitive sanctuaries in the Jerseys is extant, to the best of the writer's knowledge. But, to judge from its counterpart in Pennsylvania, it is probable that it was a plain log house, having the interior completely ceiled with boards that were smoothed by hand labor, as were those of its flooring. Small and rudely made window-sashes doubtless held the few panes of glass that lighted the plainly furnished room. Behind an unpretentious table, at one end, draped in black cloth, and raised one step from the floor, stood a quaint chair of ancient pattern. Possibly a feeble little spinet furnished instrumental accompaniment to the voices of those who sang the solemn chorales of the Fatherland. The seats of the worshipers, the sexes sitting apart, were plain wooden benches, as like as not without even the superfluity of backs for support—all luxury being eschewed by the plainly clad, hard-working folk, who knew best the prose of life. At the proper juncture in the service, a "diener," or other functionary, received the offerings in a velvet bag affixed to a wooden handle of sufficient length to reach to the extremity of each bench.

In prayer, they devoutly knelt on the scrupulously clean floor, strewn with fresh white sand, did not merely go through the form of bowing as they sat. Appeals to the heart, not ornate flowers of rhetoric to amuse the intellect, chiefly characterized the exposition of the Word. And yet, unadorned and simple as it all was, great must have been the rejoicing in the vicinity when on December 18, 1746, this primitive meeting house was solemnly dedicated to the worship of the Triune God, by Reinke, Rice, Reutz and Nyberg. Thereafter the second named preached here every third week, and was soon able to report to a Synod at Bethlehem that a schoolmaster was desired for the children of the congregation, it being estimated that fifty or sixty scholars might be secured, were a school established.

Next year, to the very day, Nyberg, Reinke and Rice pleasantly celebrated the anniversary of this dedication by a similar act of consecration. About thirty-six miles northwest of the former church, and possibly on the site of Fort Elfinsboro, between Salem Creek and the Delaware, the Hopman, Van Immen, Kyn, Petersen, Kemp, Cobb and Mullica families had erected a church, known as that of Penn's Neck, the membership of the congregation being reported within a twelvemonth afterwards at thirty-five, one of whom was an Indian, Shiloh by name.

Congregations were also organized at Walpack, fifteen miles east of Dansbury, in the Jersey Minnisinks, and at Pawlin's Kill still farther north. At the former Joseph Shaw was stationed, and its people had participated in the Synods at Philadelphia and Creutz Creek, in 1746. The latter was in a neighborhood predominantly German. Whether a permanent pastor was stationed there previous to 1755, is uncertain. The minutes of the Elders' Conference at Bethlehem mention the filling of

preaching appointments by Bailey and Brandmüller[30] from the mother congregation, the former holding forth at Dansbury in addition. On November 10 we read, "Bailey is to be installed by Gottlieb at Pawlin's Kill." Yet that his residence there was permanent, is scarcely to be credited, for the atrocities of the French and Indian wars necessitated a calling in of evangelists from all exposed frontier posts, the church at Dansbury, on the Brodhead tract, for example, which had been dedicated by Abraham Reinke on May 19, 1753, being given to the torch by the Indians in December, 1755, and the mission there in consequence abandoned.

The church at Racoon, on Beaver Creek, after being closed to the Brethren for upwards of four years, was reoccupied by them in March, 1748, services being conducted in Swedish, and at a later period in English. At the time of its reopening there were twenty-four members. Preaching appointments here were frequently filled from Philadelphia by Nyberg, Eric Westmann,[31] James Greening, Abraham Reinke, Cornelius Sturgis[32] and Richard Utley.[33]

But it was the church at Pile's Grove, or Oldman's Creek, or Woolwich, seven miles from Penn's Neck, dedicated by Bishop Spangenberg in 1749, which was to have the most prolonged annals. At this time it reckoned twenty-nine members, amongst the rest one Samson, a slave of Samuel Lynch. In the early fifties the

[30] See Biographical Note, p. 16, Vol. II of the Transactions.

[31] Emigrated to Pennsylvania, December, 1746; missionary in St. Thomas, 1749, after being ordained, February 16, 1749, at Bethlehem, by John de Watteville and Cammerhof; served till 1750; returned to Pennsylvania, and later went back to Europe; 1765, one of the founders of Sarepta; 1769, missionary in Guinea.

[32] A member of the Philadelphia congregation in 1749.

[33] A member of the Church in Yorkshire, England. Came to Pennsylvania in 1743; itinerated on Long Island, Staten Island and in Jersey; ordained 1747; in 1767 was minister of "Dobbs' Parish," N. C.; died at Salem, N. C., 1775.

name of Hector Gambold is associated with this charge, and after this Bryzelius ministered for a brief period. But regular records and permanent local work can scarcely be traced with accuracy prior to the days of Nicholas Henry Eberhart,[34] a Dane from Copenhagen, who was ordained in 1754, and is known to have resided here as *pastor loci* ten years later. Extensive awakenings were reported in October, 1768, at the Synod of Lititz, as a result of the labors of the itinerants in the Jerseys, and a petition addressed to that assemblage, to have the Oldman's Creek congregation formally recognized as an integral factor in the Unity of the Brethren, was favorably entertained. With the consequent reorganization came also a change of ministers, Frederick Schmidt[35] succeeding Eberhardt in 1769, and being destined to live through the eventful days of the Revolution, being in charge until September, 1783. That due admission into the bonds and fellowship of the Unity was more than a mere form for the little community of about a hundred and twenty members, appears from their response to the appeal for aid which sounded from congregation to congregation within that brotherhood, after the Cossack Rebellion in Astrachan wrecked the settlement at Sarepta on the Volga, in 1774. In June of the following year, though the parsonage is about to be rebuilt, causing an indebtedness of £16, and despite the mutterings of the approaching storm at home, these Jersey Moravians add as their mite £2 2*s*. 6*d*. towards the re-establishment of the outpost for missionary activity amongst the Tartars.

Schmidt's diary occasionally echoes the clash of arms, and notes the effect of the operations upon the routine life of the country folk and on the dispensation of the

[34] Born March 23, 1723, at Copenhagen; studied theology; ordained deacon, January 19, 1754, at Bethel, by Hehl; served in Nazareth Hall, 1757; minister at Oldman's Creek, Pachgatgoch, etc.; also warden at Lititz.

[35] See Biographical Note, p. 87, Vol. IV of the Transactions.

means of grace. Especially from September to December, 1777, the holding of stated services must of necessity suffer from irregularity. But to quote the Diary:

Thursday, September 11.—All day long there was a strong cannonading, and afterwards we heard that a battle had taken place between the two armies at the Brandywine River.

September 26.—Came Bro. Miller, the bookseller, from Philadelphia.

September 27.—Bro. Nicholas Garrison and wife came from Philadelphia as fugitives. Bro. Miller was lodged with Mrs. Gill, and the Garrisons stayed with us. There is great disquiet and talk of flight in the whole neighborhood.

October 1.—All are in alarm. Bro. Miller leaves for Reading. An English troop has landed three miles from here.

October 22.—Fearful cannonading shook the house like an earthquake. (It was the action at Red Bank.) Many Hessians were killed.

On Friday, December 5, twenty American militiamen were quartered in the parsonage. So also in February, 1778.

February 25, 1778.—Over two thousand English troops pass, on their way to Salem. The house was full of soldiers—polite, but carrying off trifles.

February 26.—The Garrisons leave for Bethlehem, having been here several months. There is talk of flight amongst the neighbors. Myself and wife are determined to remain.

May 10.—Many militiamen were at the services.

June 12.—A skirmish took place near by between the English and the militiamen; one of the latter was killed. A report was spread that the English were about to march through Jersey, to kill and to set fire to everything.

June 21.—We heard this week that the English troops have left Philadelphia and are marching towards New York.

June 28.—This week harvest commenced. There is promise of a good yield.

October 4.—A new alarm. English troops have landed at Egg Harbor, and many of our local militiamen have been ordered thither.

Yet this does not prevent a visitation being made by Bishop Ettwein, who is at Oldman's Creek from October 31 to November 2. Nor does it deter people from coming to the stated services from a considerable distance, since, on November 29, the presence of several is noted whose homes were at Salem, fourteen to fifteen miles away. But in 1780, reference is had to the difficulties of travel and the interruption of communication with the outside world, owing to the destruction of the bridges in consequence of warlike operations. Complaint is also made with regard to the onerous pressure of war taxes, as interfering with contributions to religious causes. The winter following was one of exceptional severity, the very ink in Pastor Schmidt's inkstand freezing. At the close of the war the membership of the congregation is reported at 134, a number which is only once again reached; for the removal to Philadelphia of young people in search of work and such who were anxious to push forward in the world, sadly depleted the ranks, nor was recruiting rapid under the church rules which now prevailed throughout the Unity.

Yet Francis Böhler,[36] who succeeded Schmidt in 1783, and served until 1793, was not without encouragement.

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[36] Born September 1, 1722, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, a brother of the Bishop; 1742, joined the Brethren at Herrnhaag; 1748, in England; 1752, called to America; ordained a deacon May 16, 1757, at Bethlehem, by his Brother Peter; 1757, minister at Hebron; 1762, Graceham; 1765, Sichem;

He could report to the Ministerial Conference, held from June 11 to 14, 1786, "Our meetings are well attended, although not only by our own members, but also by Presbyterians, Methodists and Quakers. Frequently the neighboring towns are visited and meetings held. The attempt to begin week-day meetings has not proved successful. About twenty children attended the school, and once in a fortnight a meeting is held for them. A beginning has been made towards the erection of a new church. The congregation consists of 30 communicants, 54 society members and 88 children." Just when this brick sanctuary which replaced the ancient log meeting-house was dedicated to sacred use, the present writer has not been able to discover. Frequent attacks of malarial fever—an endemic malady of those parts, it would appear, in the colonial era and early days of statehood—and the death of his wife on November 8, 1793, caused him to surrender the post into the hands of Frederick Mœhring,[37] after ten years of severe toil. The "Inventory of the movables belonging to the Brethren's House on Oldman's Creek, Woolwich Township, etc., made November 5, 1793," tells a story of Spartan simplicity and a matter of fact absence of those luxuries which our more sybaritic generation classes amongst its common and almost essential comforts. Not a few necessaries withal are denominated "old," and there is a penchant for articles that are "small."

Mœhring's labors seem to have moved along the same lines as his predecessors, more or less distant parochial visitation, coupled with preaching within the homes of those with whom he then lodged; desultory maintenance

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1773, Hope, N. J.; then in New York State; 1775–1777, at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning; 1777, Emmaus; 1779, Gnadenhütten; 1783–1793, Oldman's Creek N. J.; 1793, at Bethlehem; died at Lititz, June 4, 1806, while on a visit.

[37] See Biographical Note, p. 410, Vol. II of the Transactions.

of a congregation school, and an imitation, as close as might be, of all the unique features of the ritual characteristic of the settlement congregations. One of his official letters, a couple of years after his settlement, affords a delicious glimpse at the naive resolution of a good, pious soul, whose standard of morals, like that of her contemporaries, makes it appear that after all a considerable progress has been achieved in the education of the popular conscience during the hundred years that have intervened. It reads in this wise: "Sister Barnes has taken a ticket in the Canal Lottery, with the purpose, if she draws a sufficient prize, of building a meeting-house with it, and then inviting the Brethren to send a preacher." (*Quaere.*—Assuming that Sister Barnes should have drawn a prize that could not have been considered sufficient to warrant the carrying into effect of her worthy purpose, what a predicament must she have found herself in, when it should come to the disposal of insufficient moneys?)

Between Mœhring's removal in 1798 and the year 1800, a vacancy in the pastorate seems to have occurred, the Rev. John Meder,[38] of Philadelphia, occasionally filling the pulpit and administering the sacraments. If the negotiations with the governing board at Bethlehem, which followed, afford a fair ground for inference, deficiency of ministerial support most probably had something to do with the vacancy. In April, 1800, a request for a pastor is signed by sixteen people of Woolwich, as the congregation is now usually denominated, the names Guest, Vanneman, Eastlack, Wood, Avis, Derickson, Madeira and Taylor being prominent. On the part of the authorities at Bethlehem, the Rev. John Frederick Früauff[39] now makes a personal inspection and reporting favorably,

[38] See Biographical Note, p. 50, Vol. IV of the Transactions.

[39] See Biographical Note, p. 148, Vol. IV of the Transactions.

Samuel Towle,[40] previously a missionary in Labrador and in the West Indies, receives and accepts the call. But the subscription list of 53 names scarcely furnishes an adequate salary, and, despite the removal of the parsonage to a more healthy place in 1801, ill health is superadded. So in December, 1802, he removes to Newport, Rhode Island.

Nor does the effort made in the following Spring by John Caspar Freytag[41] result in any more decided permanence. Disabled in Autumn by severe sickness, he is practically incapacitated for pastoral work for months, and in the following March receives permission to retire to Bethlehem.

For a time occasional ministrations are rendered by Joseph Zäslein,[42] the pastor in Philadelphia. The last transaction recorded by him in the old church book is the baptism of a child, Joseph Holmes, son of Israel James and Elizabeth (Avis) James, on September 16, 1810. Already in 1807 a notice appears of services being held in the church by Methodist ministers—to the dissatisfaction of good brother Andrew Vanneman, who writes that he has prohibited the widow who served as care-taker, from making such a disposal of the edifice unless permission is granted from Bethlehem. For his part he would once more like to see a pastor stationed amongst them. But it was not to be. Too large a proportion of the members had meantime moved away, especially to Philadelphia.

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[40] See Biographical Note, p. 412, Vol. II of the Transactions.

[41] Born January 6, 1769, in Saxony; 1796, teacher at Bethlehem; ordained May 8, 1803, at Bethlehem, by Loskiel; 1803, minister at Oldman's Creek; 1804, living at Bethlehem; 1805, minister at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning; 1818, retired to Cherryville, Northampton County, Pa., where he died, April 3, 1821.

[42] Born April 11, 1770, at Basel, Switzerland; 1800–1803, teacher at Nazareth Hall; ordained May 8, 1803, at Bethlehem, by Loskiel; 1803–1812, minister in Philadelphia; subsequently joined the Lutheran Church.

When in May of 1827, the Rev. Lewis David de Schweinitz,[43] as Administrator and member of the governing board, visited the locality, he found a number of persons who remembered the labors of the Brethren with affection; but their name had become a reminiscence, and when seven years later the Episcopalians requested the use of the church, there was no reason why it should not be granted. And so ended the connection of the Moravian Church with New Sweden and the Jerseys, until modern home missionary activity once more planted the banner of the conquering Lamb beyond the Delaware.

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[43] Born Feb. 13, 1780, at Bethlehem, Pa.: Educated at Nazareth Hall, Pa., and in Germany; teacher at Niesky; chaplain of the Single Brethren at Gnadenberg, 1807; chaplain and warden of the Single Brethren at Gnadau, 1808; 1812–1821, Administrator of the Unity's property in North Carolina; 1821–1834, pastor at Bethlehem, Pa., and Proprietor and Administrator of the Unity's property in the North; delegate of the American Moravian Church at the General Synods of 1818 and 1825, at Herrnhut. A distinguished botanist, he received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Kiel in 1812. He was consecrated a *Senior Civilis* at Herrnhut on Aug. 18, 1825, being the last representative of that degree. As Administrator and Proprietor, he was *ex officio* a member of the governing boards of the Moravian Church, South and North Died at Bethlehem, Pa., Feb. 8, 1834.

FRAGMENTS

FROM THE

Papers of Bishop John Ettwein.

(Edited by the Publication Committee.)

Second Collection.

Correspondence with Henry Laurens and related matter, referring chiefly to a proposed Moravian Settlement in South Carolina.

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN presenting the first collection of "Fragments from the Papers of Bishop John Ettwein," in Part 2 of the present volume of the Transactions, the Committee stated that his correspondence with Henry Laurens, together with cognate matter and several more lengthy and important papers must be reserved for future publication as a second collection. It has been found that a portion of the Laurens correspondence is connected so closely with Revolutionary matters, which constitutes the most interesting Ettwein papers, that it must be divided, and that portion published in its connection. This will form the third collection. The correspondence herewith presented begins with the first acquaintance between Ettwein and Laurens, passes over the period of the first sojourn of the latter in Europe, the period of his public activity during the war in which the correspondence yet to be published falls, the period of his second sojourn in Europe, during which he was imprisoned in the tower of London and finally exchanged for Lord Cornwallis, and then embraces their communications, in so far as these remain, after the close of the war when the great statesman and patriot returned to private life in South Carolina. He died December 8, 1792, having solemnly enjoined upon his son, in his last will and testament, that so soon as he conveniently could, after his decease, he should cause his body to be wrapped in twelve yards of tow-cloth and burned until it was entirely consumed, and then collecting his ashes, should deposit them wherever he might think proper. This request was carried out and is on record as the first cremation in America, so far as is known. The intimate friendship which subsisted between him and Bishop Ettwein was of incalculable value to the Moravian settlements in critical times. The correspondence herewith published gives many glimpses into the private character and pursuits of this truly great man, such as are sought for and welcomed by posterity in such cases, even though they bring to view matter comparatively trivial. It is to be regretted that many letters exchanged during the period covered by these communications have been lost, but what exist and are now put into print serve as a slight contribution towards the work of preserving such literary remains of

public men, which would otherwise be unknown and in danger of being lost, a work at which many historical societies have of recent years been diligently laboring. Apart from this, however, the main subject of the correspondence brings to light one of the most interesting and extensive of the numerous plans for increasing the number of Moravian settlements which after the Revolutionary War were proposed or even attempted, but for one reason or another were never consummated. The general internal stagnation, the inability of those with whom the final decision then rested to rightly see opportunities from across the ocean and to act promptly at the right time and the trammels stubbornly insisted upon in petty outward details by authorities who could not see that in a new country and a new nation, to a very great extent new precedents were to be established in methods of administration instead of blindly following old ones, these impediments were too much for even the spirit of an Ettwein when he was growing old and his natural force was abating. The ultimate failure of the South Carolina undertaking, which had been sanctioned by the General Synod, was owing somewhat to dilatory methods on the part of the Brethren and hesitancy on the part of Marschall, elsewhere revealed, he evidently fearing that the project might divert attention from Wachovia, the North Carolina Settlement, which let the golden opportunity pass and made it possible for interested persons like Mr. Gervais who did not share the distinguished South Carolina statesman's desire to see a Moravian settlement established in the Palmetto State to obstruct the enterprise and to finally persuade him when sick and broken down to alter his will, made November 1, 1792, and on December 1, eight days before his death, to bequeath the whole tract of land in question to a granddaughter. This fact which crushed all hope of consummating the enterprise, was reported at Salem, N. C., April 24, 1793.

The rule referred to in the Introduction to the first collection, in the matter of reproducing the letters just as they are, has again been followed, excepting rarely an indispensable alteration in some of Ettwein's letters. These are all copies or drafts in his own handwriting, hence the incompleteness and abruptness of some of them. The letters of his correspondents here given are all originals.

LETTER OF ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, WRITTEN FROM BETHABARA, N. C., IN FEBRUARY, 1763.

Dear and Honoured Sir:

As my love and esteem for you increased considerably at my late sojourn in Charlestown,[1] I may call you so in truth. I can make no excuse for my not writing to you from the Congaree or Broad River, but that I was a little too much in a hurry to come home again.

I had fine weather and a pleasant journey. After traveling 180 miles from Charlestown along the Congaree and Broad River I crossed the ferry of Broad River, Fishing Creek and Catawba River, where the quarrel about the line took place, and came by Mr. Pfeiffer's to the landing, having made about 250 miles across the country and arrived here safe and well the 22nd of Decr. I had very little company on the road. Mr. Mason of Ninety-Six[2] lodged with me one night and travelling one half Day in my company, he took the opportunity to inform himself about the origin of the Brethren's Church, their Ordination, Settlements, Baptism, Lord's Supper, &c. In the Congarees I spent a few hours with Stephen Crellius, an old acquaintance of some of our Brethren, whose Father I knew and whose two Sisters are in our Congregation, a speculative philosophical Christian. I made a short confession before him of Jesus Christ my Lord and God, and he assured me he did seek salvation in none but Him.

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[1] In 1762 he had made an extensive missionary tour through South Carolina, visiting the scattered German settlers and investigating the prospects for evangelization among the Indians and the negro slaves.

[2] Thus one of the military districts, with its chain of forts, was designated. The district here referred to, in the neighborhood of Cambridge, S. C. and ninety-six miles from Charleston, was that in which Mr. Laurens later proposed that the settlement should be undertaken by the Brethren on a large tract of land which he possessed.

John Geiger received me kindly and gave me, for your sake, a good night's lodging.

I had a good deal of Discourse with them of real Christianity and read a sermon unto them of the Canaanitish Woman confessing her unworthiness but yet depending upon the goodness of our Lord. Next day I went to see his Brother in law, Henry Gallman whom I respect and love as a good old religious man.

Hereabouts, in the Forks of Broad River, I found several awakened souls who, to speak in their own words, try to enter the straight gate. But the impression of Moses and Sinai appears more in their countenance than Christ and Golgatha. They are very shy and timorous on Account of the affairs of Jacob Weaver and his Associates.

I believe if those people had some one to take care of them Satan would not have gained so much there. I intended to visit all the Ministers in my journey, but, it may be providentially, I found none at home except Mr. Frederick with whom I spent a few hours in Friendship.

I never thought that there were so many Germans in South Carolina, and, from what I saw and heard, they are more desirous to have Churches and Schools than in other places. I wish the Children may turn out a good race but am afraid the Negroes have too much influence among them, and I have observed that often where a man has slaves his Children become lazy and indolent. What I saw and heard of the Negroes made me very uneasy. If some care was taken of their souls, their Servitude might be a blessing unto them, but I could hear nothing of that nor even of any prospect for such a thing.[3]

To propagate the Gospel among the Heathen is one of our plans in this World, and I consider myself as a Sentinel to watch

[3] Prior to the Revolution the Brethren had made considerable effort in behalf of the Negroes, from Massachusetts to Maryland and Virginia, one of their earliest evangelists among the slaves of the Colonies being "Andrew the Mohr," the Negro who, coming into possession of Thomas Noble, of New York, was christianized and educated, was the first Negro baptized by the Brethren in North America, and was presented by Noble to Bishop Spangenberg, who gave him his freedom. He settled down, married and finally died in Bethlehem. The wonderful story of his life from the wilds of Africa to the peaceful resting place of the dead in Bethlehem is preserved in the Archives in the handwriting of Bishop Ettwein.

the opening of the door to the Indians for some Messengers of the Peace of God, and as you will know, from time to time, how matters stand amongst the Cherokees or Creeks, I hope you will apprize me of it when you think such message would have access without giving much Umbrage.

I forgot to enquire in Charlestown whether any vessels go direct to Hamburg and whether you have any Correspondents there and at Rotterdam, what month ships commonly sail from Hamburg to Charleston and whether any passengers would go or come with such Ships in time of peace. From what I heard it would be better for our people in Germany if any of them come to Wachovia to go to Charlestown than to N. York or Philadelphia, from where they have a troublesome Voyage or Journey to Carolina. From Charlestown they might with less trouble or expense be brought here.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, 1763.

To H. Laurens,

Honoured Sir,

I received your very kind letter with that fine book of Common Prayer, the Prophetic Number and Spiritual Voice of the Rev. Mr. Clarke, the Spirit of Love in two parts and Address to y^e^ Clergy & Collection of Lessons from y^e^ pious Mr. Low, also the newspapers. They were all new to me and I do not know how to express my Thanks for your great trouble and expense which you have made yourself on my Account.

The Raisins and Almonds I took also in my care and have made and shall make yet more joy therewith to our little children.[4] . . . . . I told the biggest of them that you did send them and they send their thanks and kind love to you and your Children.

That we keep some parts of our religious Worship and Rites a profound secret to all of the rest of mankind, even to our younger Brethren and what some are pleased to call Free Masonry of Moravianism is a "profound secret" to me.[5]

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[4] This acknowledgment issued from a backwoods home, where only the barest necessities of frontier life were known.

[5] The fact that some services were intended only for communicant members and others for one or another division of the membership excited the

I know in Truth of nothing in our Theory or practice that has not been laid open before the Superior Powers of the land of our sojourn and even put in print as much as I know in German and English. Tis true, we believe that the Church of Christ should have Mysteries,[6] and do not believe in that now common way that all the pearls are cast before swine and dogs.[7] . . . . . Yet it is our rule never to refuse admission to any Magistrate who wants to be present. The common remark, "if it is something good why may not everybody be present?" is not sufficient for us to alter our ways. . . . . Our private meetings also belong to our Discipline. If any one does not walk worthily the Gospel, he is not to be admitted to the Lord's Supper till he repents and mends though he is a communicant member.

If he is not admitted to the Holy Communion he has also no admittance to the private meetings of Communicants, viz. our daily Liturgy in which we praise and adore, one day our dear Heavenly Father, the other the Lamb of God, our Saviour, then the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Trinity. I know of no principle, Tenet or secret Action that could not be laid before any serious, honest man, and I never have been desired to keep this or that a Secret or laid under obligation to keep silence in one or another Particular. . . . . As to Mr. Clark, I wish he had remained a preacher of Jesus Christ, and think he would thereby have wrought more in the Vineyard of the Lord than by his Writings. I know of several blessed Servants of the Lord who have lost themselves in the Revelation and Daniel, though I wouldn't judge a strange Servant. If one has a call to open what others were to seal up he must do it, but if he has no call, he would do better to keep it "a profound secret."

I am afraid there will yet come a worse Antichrist, perhaps from among the Protestants, than any one has been yet.

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suspicions of ignorant people and was made the basis of many malicious slanders on the part of the German clergy which were assiduously circulated in print and fostered such suspicions. Thus arose much of the nonsense about the Moravian Church of former times even yet stupidly believed by many who have not taken the trouble to seek correct information.

[6] In the sense of Matt. 13 : 11; 1 Cor. 4 : 1 applied to appointments for the special edification of believers in things which the ignorant and the ungodly cannot receive, after the manner of the primitive Church.

[7] Matt. 7 : 6.

[Their subsequent correspondence, which was continued at intervals, as records show, has been lost. From 1771 to 1774 Mr. Laurens was abroad. The next fragments of their correspondence which have been preserved fall in the year 1778, when Mr. Laurens was President of the Continental Congress, and relate to the petitions of the Brethren in the matter of taking oath and bearing arms, which will be published with Ettwein's history of the Revolutionary experiences of the Brethren. That which now follows belongs to the period after the second return of Laurens from Europe in 1783.]

LAURENS TO ETTWEIN, JULY 14, 1787.

Mepkin Plantation, So. Carolina
14th July 1787.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Letter of the 9th October found me in a very ill state of health, unable to write or do any kind of business without reluctance. In that state I had remained, with some flattering partial intervals of Amendment, till the beginning of the present Month, when I experienced great relief from the use of the Shower Bath, and altho it brought on a severe attack of the Gout, I find myself clearer in the head and in better health than I had been since I returned to this Country.

Those who reported my health to you were equally mistaken with those who reported my death. I have borne my Maladies without murmuring and so people have thought nothing ailed me.

The basket you allude to came to my hands when at Trenton when I was under an Ague Fever and Sciatica in a high degree. After I had a little recovered I was obliged to hurry on my Journey, the Winter then approaching fast, & a dismal Journey it was, myself sick, the Weather wet and cold and the Roads bad beyond description. Upon my arrival I found all my affairs in great Distraction, calling for my immediate Application and my health too poor to give the required aid.

At length they are brought into some kind of Arrangement and I am settled at this very pleasant place on Cooper River about 40 feet above the Water, 30 miles from Charleston. The Enemy have not left me means for being in my former stile in the city. I made some attempts to speak of the horrid murders of your

poor Indian Brethren but they were fruitless.[8] Every Man seemed to have so many troubles of his own as absorbt his whole care and attention, besides this thing was not news & so many butcheries had been committed by the British upon our people as had made such Reports too familiar & removed the horror which a single Instance would otherwise have excited.

I thank you for the Book which you were so good as to send me by Mr Drayton. I read with great satisfaction as I lay on my Sick Bed some Pages of the pious breathings of our late dear friend.

Mr Drayton who neglected to read it on the Road has borrowed it and has not since returned it but I shall send for it when I go next to Charleston.

I come now my dear friend to a more important business respecting which I should have written you long ago, but I have been waiting an event from London which I think is now accomplished.

I heard you say when I was at Bethlehem the Brethren would make a Settlement at our Ninety-Six if they could obtain a Tract of about 2000 Acres of tolerably good Land.

I have a Tract of about 6000 Acres which is reported to me to be in a general way very good & worth money, two thousand or two thousand, five hundred Acres of which is at the service of your Society for the good purpose intended if they will do me the great honour of accepting it without Money or other consideration.

If you speak in the affirmative, as I pray God you may, let a Deputation of Brethren come here in the month of October or November next when we will have the above mentioned quantity or quantities, or a few hundred Acres more if necessary to make the Settlement complete Surveyed & set off & such deeds of conveyance shall be made in Fee forever as the Society shall require; admitting my Death in the meantime my Son will confirm my intentions.

I pray God to bless you in yourself, in your particular family & to bless & prosper your whole Society,

HENRY LAURENS.

The Reverend
Bishop Ettwein, Bethlehem Pennsylvania.

[8] The massacre of 96 Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, March 8, 1782.

WILLIAM BELL, MERCHANT, OF PHILADELPHIA AND AGENT OF LAURENS, TO ETTWEIN, JULY 25, 1787.

Sir,

I some time ago received a letter from the Honorable Henry Laurens, ordering some shoes to be made for his negroes and sent to Charleston—he says our Friends at Bethlehem perhaps could get them made, therefore you will write them:—I had some made in this Town last Year for Mr Laurens which cost 5/ a pair and a second parcel of exceeding good Shoes which cost 7/ — I will thank you to have per first opportunity your Opinion whether you think the Shoes can be made at your place and sent to this as cheap or cheaper than here. The Shoes are for Negroes and must therefore be of strong, good leather and well sewed.

Your ob. hble. Serv.

WILLIAM BELL.

ETTWEIN TO BELL, AUGUST 26, 1787.

W^m^ BELL.

Sir,

I received your letter of the 25^th^ of July about some Shoes for the Negroes of the Honor^ble^ H. Laurens in South Carolina. I spoke to the Shoemakers. They told me they could not afford to make good shoes for 7/ a pair, but they would engage to make a number of them for 7/6 a pair as they commonly sold for 8/ in their shops. I have therefore bespoke 20 pair at that price as a sample.

If the Hon^ble^ Gentleman judges them good for that price, he may order for next year as many as he pleases, 1, 2 or 300 pairs.

Bethlehem Leather has a good Name & I hope the Masters will care that the shoes are well sewed.

I am &c—

LAURENS TO ETTWEIN, SEPTEMBER 10, 1787.

CHARLESTON, SO. CAROLINA, 10^th^ Septb^r^ 1787.

My Dear Friend

I had the pleasure of writing to you the 14^th^ July, making the offer to your Brethren of a Tract of Land at Ninety-Six—certain articles respecting that Land which now appear to

me essential were then omitted—to make the necessary addition is the purpose of my present address.

first. The Land lies in a well settled Neighborhood with little or no danger from Incursions of Savages.

2nd The Road from there to this city, though not as good as it ought to be, is not worse than the Road was when I traveled it from Bethlehem to Philadelphia.

3d The Taxes are light, about eight Dollars per Thousand Acres, & no Arrears of Taxes.

4th My Neighbor, John Lewis Gervais, Esquire, who has a Tract adjoining, being one Moiety of my original Tract, assures me he can sell his at a Guinea per Acre on Credit with good Security for payment.

If these intimations shall prove an inducement, send your Deputies I entreat you and take possession.

Shall I request you My Dear Friend to give direction to your best Gunsmith to make for me as Neat, Light and good a Rifle barreled Gun as he can afford for five Guineas, with Mould &c—also to send me half a Dozen pair of Neat, Strong Doe skin Gloves—the size of my hand is middling—You may remember the Thread Gloves you gave me which are still in wear, these Articles to be delivered to Mr William Bell, Merchant, of Philadelphia who will pay the amount upon application. How goes on your Woolen Manufactory?

God bless and preserve you and all your families.

Henry Laurens.

The Reverend Bishop Ettwein
Bethlehem.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, OCTOBER 1787.

Henry Laurens Esqr

Honoured & Dear Sir,

Your kind Letter of July 14th with the offer of a Tract of Land for a settlement of the U. Brn at Ninety-Six I have answered and left the letter at the house of Mr Wm Bell in Philadelphia.

Your Favour of the 10th Sepr reached Bethlehem on the 4th when I returned from New York where I and one of our Missionaries among the Indians had some business with the Board

of Treasury in Behalf of the Christian Indian Congregation. Congress has sold all the Land on both sides of the Muskingum to a certain Company, excepting the three forsaken Indian Towns & 10/m acres of Land adjoining them, all together 12/m acres which shall be surveyed next Spring & a Deed given to the Directors of the Brms Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen in trust for the Chr. Ind. Congregation. General Sinclair is appointed Governor of the Western Territory and Supt of Indian Affairs in the N. District.

I thank you Dear Friend a thousand times for your good will and benevolent Intention. God's Will be done.

Mr Wm Bell made Enquiry about the price of strong Shoes. I empowered him and gave Direction to the Shoemaker to send 20 Pair at a Dollar[9] pr pair as a sample.

They were packed several Weeks but Farmers being very busy Sowing, they could not be sent to Philadelphia sooner.

That a neat, light, good Rifle barreled Gun may be made for you as soon as possible I will take care. May be I can send the Gloves with this first favour of Mr Loocock who is here with his Lady on a Visit. Our Wollen manufactory is but weak. Very little is made for sale. We encourage as much as possible the raising of Sheep. I believe a number of Hoes could be made here at a reasonable Price if we knew what form or sort is most liked in your parts. It will at all times be a pleasure to me to receive and execute any of your Orders or Commands, for I am and remain in Truth, Dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend and Humble Servt

John Ettwein.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, NOVEMBER, 1787.

Dear Sir

I wrote to you by Mr Loocock in Answer to your Favour of Sept 10th and sent by him six Pair of Deer Skin Gloves. I gave Direction to Mr Joseph Perkins here in Philadelphia, a member of our Church, and a very good Gunsmith to make for you as neat, light & good a rifle bored Gun with Mould as he

[9] In one letter 7*s*. 6*d*. in the other a Dollar, showing the rate at which Pennsylvania Colonial currency counted in the new coin.

can possibly make for the Price of 5 Guineas. I doubt not but that he will do his best to give satisfaction. When it is done he will deliver it to Mr Wm Bell. I am sorry to hear from that Gentleman of your poor state of Health. Our old dyer, Matthew Weiss[10] wants some very good Carolina Indigo, to do his Work good for Bethlehem and Neighbors. Mr Loocock advised him to make application to you and he desired me to do it in his Name. I shall be obliged to you if you will take the trouble to order a Barrel of the best of your Indigo to be sent to him as soon as can be. It can be directed to the care of Mr Godfrey Haga in Race Street. The reason of my being at Present here[11] you will see in the enclosed Prints.

I and our whole little Flock at Bethm & Nazareth enjoy, God be thanked for it, good Health, Peace and many Blessings.

That the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God our Heavenly Father and the Communion of the Holy Spirit may comfort and strengthen you at all times, and particularly in your painful hours, is the prayer of

Your affectionate Friend & Servt

John Ettwein.

LAURENS TO ETTWEIN, APRIL 5, 1788.

Mepkin Plantation So. Carolina
5th April 1788.

Reverend & Dear Sir.

I find myself indebted for your several kind letters of 24th August, 17th October & 28th November in the ex-

[10] It is interesting to note that the culture of *Indigofera tinctoria* and the manufacture of Indigo was carried on in the Southern States at this early day in the history of the United States. The enterprise doubtless never got much beyond the experimental stage, but whether owing to the unsuitability of the soil or climate, or whether the panacea of "protection"—as to the virtues of which the learned doctors of politics and political economy choose to disagree to this day—was not properly applied by the law-makers of the land, remains an open question. Suffice it to say, the veteran blue-dyer, Matthew Weiss, who had instituted this industry in Bethlehem in 1746, and had manipulated in woolen dyeing, chiefly in blue, brown and bottle-green, evidently placed more confidence in the East Indian article, for, in his book accounts, Indigo from Madras and Bengal figures almost exclusively.

[11] He was in Philadelphia to apply to the Convention of November 20, for a Charter for the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.

pired Year. Bad health has reduced me to a very remiss Correspondent. Thank God I am at the present moment tolerably well, but wandering Gout, Gravel and great weakness of Nerves, the first & last almost constantly, the second occasionally afford no prospect of long continuance.

Your declining to accept the Land which I offered you at Ninety-Six is a disappointment to me, nevertheless I perceive you have done much better.[11] Ten Thousand Acres upon the Muskingum affords a much fairer and more extensive prospect of promoting your pious designs. I rejoice in your Success and pray God to bless you with continued prosperity.

I have given direction to make a general Resurvey of the Ninety-six Tract and remove certain encroachments which have lately come to my knowledge. When that work is completed if I am alive I shall correspond with M^r^ Marschall at Salem in the terms you advise. The Sample of Shoes from Bethlehem which were sent by M^r^ Bell did not equal in quality the Shoes which came directly from Philadelphia. I should say did not equal in appearance, for I have heard no complaint of the wear. The Gloves by M^r^ Loocock came safe and are very good. I hope soon to see the Gun. M^r^ Bell will pay for both articles.

You would "travel one or two hundred Miles to see me at Mepkin." I thank you heartily for the friendly intimation. If I could travel, I would go all the way to visit you at Bethlehem. I sincerely love you. M^r^ Loocock might have advised you to a much more proper person than myself for the purchase of Indigo. I live wholly in the country except occasional visits to my family in Charleston, and having been upwards of twenty years unconcerned in commerce, I do not think I am a competent Judge of the commodity. However, I felt a pleasure in an opportunity of serving you. I went to the City and with the help of a Judicious Friend bought 279^lb^ weight, which appeared to be of the best quality. My Friend, M^r^ Gervais assured me it was and I remarked it was perfectly dry which is always to be attended to. That quantity is put into a Barrel, Taped and Sealed, Shipped on board the Philadelphia, Cap^t^ Strong consigned to M^r^ Godfrey Haga to whom I have enclosed the Bill of Lading and account

[11] The reference is to the grant of land in Ohio to the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen.

of the money I paid for it the 12th of March last, £73.9.9. our Sterling which at present differs from British 12½ per cent. At this rate I exchanged Bills the 7th March. The Repayment may be made if you please to Mr Willm Bell in Philadelphia. Capt Strong is the first opportunity that has offered, except Capt Allibone who sails too early as I judged for risquing. The Indigo was purchased when the latter sailed in February but I reserved it for more seasonable conveyance.

That happiness may attend you, your family, your Society, is the ardent wish Reverend and Dear Sir, of

your affectionate and faithful
humble servant
HENRY LAURENS.

The Reverend
Bishop Ettwein
Pennsylvania.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, MAY, 1788.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

I received yours of April 5th on the 25th, I feel concerned for your poor state of health. I did not decline a Settlement at 96. I only referred it to the proper place for an Answer, that is a General Synod of the United Brethren which will be held in Saxony in June '89 at which several such proposals for new Settlements will be considered and it will be determined which shall be begun first.

I am sorry I made you trouble with the Indigo. If I had been present at the conversation of the Dyer with Mr Loocock, I would have asked whether Indigo is raised on your Farms. From what Mr Weiss our Dyer told me of his conversation with Mr Loocock, I was of opinion that Indigo was raised on your own Plantations. Mr Weiss is pleased with the Indigo and will pay with Thanks to Mr Wm Bell of Philadelphia through Mr Haga with Interest from 12th of March until it is paid. I hope the Shoes will be found good in wearing. The Shoemaker gave for reason why he could not sell them for less than a Dollar that he paid 2/6 to the Journeymen per Pair when others paid but ¼ Dollar, as he wanted to have three stitches where the others make but two, but he is now also more pliable and has offered 30 pair at 7/ pr pair.

A few days ago I received for answer to my letter in which I communicated your very kind instruction to encourage a B^rns Settlement at 96, in the State of S. Carolina to the Elders' Conference of the Unity, that as a General Synod would meet in June '89 and there were more invitations of that nature, it would be referred to that Synod. We will therefore dear Sir, patiently wait for the result and pray, Thy Will be done.

ETTWEIN TO WILLIAM BELL, MAY, 1788.

Mr W^m Bell

Sir,—I received a Letter from my much respected Friend Henry Laurens, d. d. Apr. 5^th. He sent a barrel of Indigo to M^r M. Weiss the Dyer here. Mr Laurens writes the repayment of £73–9–9 S. Car. Sterling, which at present differs from British 12½ Pr Cent, may be made to M^r W^m Bell in Philad. M^r M. Weiss will pay you as soon as possible by the hand of Mr Haga with interest from the 12^th of March to the Day of repayment. I desired him to pay 20 Dollars for the Shoes and six Dollars for leather Gloves, and to send you the Receipt for it. M^r Laurens writes the sample of Shoes from Bethlehem which were sent by M^r Bell did not equal in quality the Shoes which came directly from Phiadelphia. I should say did not equal in appearance, for I have heard no complaint of the Wear. One of our Shoemakers has 30 Pair on hand which he now would sell for 7/ a Pair. He says they are good & strong.

BELL TO ETTWEIN, MAY 17, 1788.

Philadelphia May 17^th, 1788.

Sir

Your Esteemd letter covering one for M^r. Laurens came duly to hand—note the Contents—your letter will be forwarded ℔ the first opportunity—M^r. Laurens has not sent the Measures to make the shoes to—Observe what you say about the price 7/ last year I paid no more than 7/—Also observe you say M^r. Weiss will pay £73. 9. 9 allowing him a deduction of 12½ ℔ Cent for the difference of money—am with great respect your most Ob^t. Huble Serv^t.

William Bell.

The Rev^d. Bishop Ettwein.

BELL TO ETTWEIN, JUNE 17, 1788.

PHILADELPHIA June 17th 1788.

Sir

I received a letter from our mutual Friend Mr. Laurens in which he tells me he purchased some Indigo for your account—he says that the common Exchange between paper and hard money was 12½ ℔ Cent—therefore would not Charge more—he passed some in payment and was only allowed 5 ℔ Cent—on which principal he thinks 315 dollars will only reimburse him for what he paid for the Indigo —I here inclose you an abstract of his letter—he does not Demand more than you have paid—but is willing to receive the 315 dollars should it meet your approbation as he conceives he paid that sum for the Indigo—on the other side you have a State of the a/c—should there be any thing in which I can be usefull you are at Liberty to command your most obt. Huble Servt.

WILLIAM BELL.

73. 9. 9 South Carolina money is
112. 10. 7¾ Pennsylvania—which is 300.$\frac{7}{90}$ dollars the above at 12½ ℔ Cent discount—

paid May 10th £73. 10. 6
June 16th 39. 1
———112. 10. 7.—300.$\frac{7}{90}$ dollars.

Mr. Laurens think the Indigo cost	315 dollars
already paid - - - - - - - -	300.$\frac{7}{90}$
Balance due should the Bishop approve of the Settlement	14.$\frac{83}{90}$

To Bishop Ettwein.

LAURENS' BILL TO GODFREY HAGA.

Bishop Ettwein, on whose account I have Shipped or ordered to be shipped on board the Philadelphia Capt Strong 279lb 10, 10, of fine Indigo at 5/3 — Cask & 5/ — £73. 9. 9. S Carolina Money the Value of which or any Sum agreeable to the Course of Exchange I request you will receive and place to my credit, I lately adjusted an a/c in Charleston in which a discount 5 per Cent was made for Gold or Dollars—but all things considered the Bishop might pay me the full Sum 315 Dollars—.

BELL TO ETTWEIN, APRIL 12, 1790.

PHILAD 21 April 1790.
rec. 6 May, Sep. 8th

THE REVEREND BISHOP ETTWEIN

Sir

I received a letter from the Hon^ble. Henry Laurens Jun^r. dated Mepkin 25 Feby 1790 from which I find I must be under the necessity of being troublesome to you knowing you to be a particular Friend of his Father, & hope you will pardon the freedom I now take. When in my power to render you any Acceptable service I will with pleasure, & will thank you to command me

Am Sir Your M°. Ob^t. hble Serv^t.

WILLIAM BELL.

Abstract of M^r. Henry Laurens Jun^r. letter

I have now to request another favour of you, Which is this—to procure for me a Model of the Water Mill in the Moravian Settlement at Bethlehem, *So far as it is made use of in the Manufacture of Hemp.* The general Account which I have heard of this Machine is as follows—"at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania the Moravians have erected a Water Mill, Which by means of one large Wheel carries on at the same time four Manufactories, one of Hemp, one of Cotton &^c each in distinct apartments of a large building adjoining"

Hemp is an Article Which probably, if Indigo should continue to depreciate, must be the resort of many Planters in this Country, it has already been attempted upon a Small Scale and with great Success and Profit, and the only difficulty which as yet has presented is—that of breaking & Heckling it properly for the purchase of the Rope Maker; the Labour and time required for this in the common way by hand, would be too great & dilatory for an essay upon a Plantation with a force equal to the cultivation of two or three hundred Acres. The mill above mentioned, if the Acc° I have of it be Just, would obviate the difficulty completely, the introduction of it may be of very great Advantage to the Country, I am sure that you will agree with me that the Experiment is worth making, and grant me your Assistance on the Occasion.

Perhaps it may be necessary to make an Application to the Rev^{d} Bishop Etwein, but of this you will judge, to employ some ingenious Moravian Carpenter or Mill-Wright to execute a Model not only on account of Expedition, but also on acc^{o} of price, for I wish it to be as cheaply & speedily done as possible—Permit me to repeat the Model of the Mill is wanted only, *So far as it is made use of in the Manufacture of Hemp*—And I need not add it should be made to some particular Gauge. & proportionate in all its parts.

Signed—Henry Laurens Jun.

I will be much obliged by your favouring me with an Answer as soon as you Conveniently can

& oblige yours

William Bell

ETTWEIN TO BELL, MAY 8, 1790.

M^{R} William Bell, Merchant,

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 21st of Apr. May the 6th here at Lititz communicating to me part of M^{r} H. Laurens jun^{r} Letter to you concerning a model from the Hemp Mill at Bethlehem.

M^{r} Laurens has been misinformed in regard to the Mill at Bethlehem, there is, in fact a Mill which by the power of one large Wheel moved by strong current of Water, can work 6 different manufactories 1.) an oil mill stamping on one side the flax seed and on the other side pressing out the oil and above that 2.) hulling mills, for hulling of Spelt, Buck wheat and 3.) making ship & pearl Barley & oat meal. On the other side of the Water wheel is 4.) a mill pounding bark for the Tanner & 5.) one for softening & cleaning calf skins &c. for shoe leather. On the side of that in a small separate building is 6.) the Hemp mill, where on a bed of solid oak blocks cut in curves the Hemp, already broke is laid and by a large stone about a Tons' weight of this form —◁ is by the force of the foresaid Water wheel turned very quick round upon the Hemp on the Bed which must be often turned till it is quite soft; but the Hemp thus prepared is not fit for Ropemakers, but only for (swingling and Heckling) spinning and making strong coarse linnen from it, and must after being so softened be swingled and hatchelt.

Yet I will speak with our Millwright, to make a model of a

mill where on one side of the Water wheel a stamp Mill for pounding bark or Rice and on the other such a Hemp-mill may be, and as soon as it is finished will send it to you to forward it, to Mr Laurens. To serve him in anything will be a great pleasure to me. Please to mention to him my best respects. Some Weeks ago I wrote to his father and sent it to your care, I hope my Letter was delivered & forwarded. I am

Dear Sir
your humble servt
JOHN ETTWEIN.

Lititz May 8th 1790.

LAURENS TO ETTWEIN, JUNE 25, 1790.

MEPKIN PLANTATION, So. CAROLINA
25th June 1790.

Reverend and Dear Sir

Your very kind & affectionate Letter of the 16th February reached me the 20th March & should have been answered much earlier but some time was required for enquiring into two points which you have made the *sine qua non* of your accepting the Ninety-Six Land, "exemption from personal service in War and your Affirmation in all cases instead of your Oath." The first is solely within the province of Congress, this State has nothing to do with it, my information is from the Governor. The other article is established in our Constitution, affirmation is taken for Oath and your Brethren are not excluded from serving in our Legislature. The Land is still my property and 2000 Acres of the best at the service of your Society upon condition of establishing a Settlement. I hope the Month of October will not pass before some of your friends shall appear to locate and take possession of a spot.

I rejoice at your safe return to America & no less at your abiding so long & so lovingly with your Brethren & friends in Europe. God has been pleased to deprive you of one friend by the death of your Wife but has raised you up another in your Daughter for He will never forsake nor leave you disconsolate.[12]

[12] While Bishop Ettwein was in Europe attending the General Synod his wife, Joannette Maria, m.n. Kimberle, died at Bethlehem, September 8, 1789. He and his daughter Benigna who accompanied him to Europe did not hear of her death until they landed at New York, December 26, 1789, on their way home.

The general Act for granting liberty of Conscience mentioned in your P.S. so far as respects bearing Arms I repeat can only flow from Congress, all other liberty is amply secured by our Constitution.

I commend myself to your Prayers & am with the most affectionate Esteem & Regard

Reverend Sir

Your friend & Obedient Servant

Henry Laurens.

Reverend Bishop Ettwein

HENRY LAURENS, JR., TO ETTWEIN, JUNE 27, 1790.

Charleston 27th June 1790.

Reverend Sir,

I note in a Letter lately received from my friend, Mr Wm Bell of Philadelphia, the trouble which you have been so good to take in assisting him to procure for me the models of the Mills used at Bethlehem for the preparation of Hemp to a certain State; tho' unfavored by your Correspondence, I refrain not from intruding a few Lines upon you with my hearty thanks for your interference.

The article of Hemp, probably, will be a staple of considerable consequence in this Country, to encourage & promote its Cultivation, few things can tend more than the introduction of the modes of manufacture in the various Stages, and of the proper Mills for facilitating the process, under this impression I wrote to Mr Bell to procure for me models of the mills used at Bethlehem, where I had learned that Hemp was cultivated & manufactured to a considerable Extent. With your assistance, he informs me that he will be able to gratify my wishes, by sending a Model of the Conical rolling Mill, & a Model of a Mill used for the double purpose of preparing Hemp on one side and of bruising Bark or beating Rice at pleasure on the other. I shall be happy at all times to make the best returns in my power for this flattering instance of your regard & attention. Should occasions present themselves to me on which I should think my Services would be

useful they shall not be kept. Should any occur to you let me hope you will give me the means of embracing them.

With the highest Respect & Esteem I am
Reverend Sir
your obed^{t} humble Servant
HENRY LAURENS, Jun^{r}

The Reverend
Bishop Ettwein
at Bethlehem.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, JULY 8, 1790.

To HENRY LAURENS, SEN^{R}
Honoured & Dear Sir,

I received this Day your favour of the 25th of June in answer to mine of Febr. I find by the public prints that the exemption from serving in the Militia will be for all who are conscientiously scrupulous to bear arms. Tho' we cannot say that all our B^{rn} are scrupulous in that point nor in taking a public oath, yet as there are many of our Church Members who really scruple about it and think to have good reason in the Word of our Saviour for it, we think it our Duty to provide for them and not to offend such B^{rn} by a contrary mind or action.

I hope that before the end of Oct^{r} some of the B^{rn} from Salem in N. Car. will take a view of the 96 District in S. Car. and fix the place for the intended Settlement.

I am heartily thankful for your good will and wishes.

ETTWEIN TO HENRY LAURENS, JR., JULY 10, 1790.

H. LAURENS JUN^{R}
Dear Sir,

I was favoured with a Letter from you of June 27th which I received the 8th inst. here at Philadelphia.

A model for a Hemp & stamping Mill has been made at Beth^{m}. I hope you will receive it by Cap^{t} Jones.

The Millwright had begun it before I received M^{r} Bell's second Letter. You will find that he instead of our common Hemp Mill with a roller has made one with two Brakes.

Some Remarks or Directions of his are hereby enclosed.

I shall be happy at all times, if you give me an opportunity, to shew my willingness to serve you, particularly in such plans for the benefit of the Country.

I am with Love & Esteem
Yours

JOHN ETTWEIN.

LAURENS TO ETTWEIN, SEPTEMBER 10, 1790.

MEPKIN PLANTATION, So. Carolina
10th Sept 1790.

Reverend & Dear Sir,

When your kind Letter of the 8th of July came to me I was suffering under a severe attack of Gout which held me a prisoner nearly a Month.

Whatever you might have reflected upon permission to leave your mortal Tent, your happy recovery, for which I thank God, is a public benefit to a very large Circle who would sensibly feel the ill effects of your final departure, but in all cases God's Will be done.[13]

Concerning the land at Ninety-Six I shall be ready to fulfill my promises whenever any of your Brethren shall appear. I hope it will be in the course of next Month. I shall rather exceed than fall short of my propositions.

My Son has received the model of the Mill for breaking Hemp. I hope he has made a proper acknowledgement of your goodness in procuring it. He is at present in Charleston.

Commending myself to your remembrance in Prayer, I remain with the most affectionate Regard,

Reverend and Dear Sir
Your friend sincerely

HENRY LAURENS.

The Revd Bishop Ettwein.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, SEPTEMBER 25, 1790.

HENRY LAURENS ESQ.

Honoured and Dear Sir,

If I remember right, I have already informed you that I received your very kind Letter of the 25th of

[13] Bishop Ettwein suffered a long and severe attack of sickness in February and March, 1790, after which he never fully regained robust health.

June on July 8th in Philadelphia. I sent Copy of it to our dear beloved Brother Fr. Marschall at Salem, with a request to send as soon as possible some of the Brethren from Wachovia to see the Country about Ninety Six in general and your District in particular, and to resolve upon a convenient spot for establishing a Settlement. I and my Brn here wish that Mr Fr. Marschall himself would make such a Journey to 96, and from there to you in Mepkin Plantation or in Charleston to settle everything in this Affair for which I now write to him again. If upon the condition of establishing a Settlement of the United Brethren 2000 acres of your Land in 96 are granted and given by you, you will please make a Deed for them in fee simple to Frederick Marschall Esq. at Salem in N. Carolina. The U. Brn have entrusted him with all their landed property in Pennsylvania and Carolina. He and the Brn in N. Carolina will then as soon as possible take further measures to plant a mustard seed in S. Carolina, and I have great hopes that it will grow and such a Setttlement in time become a home to our Missionaries among the Creek, Choctaw and Cherokee Indians, if any there be, as I wish and hope for.

I heard there was in Congress a Motion to send Missionaries to the Creek Indians. Our Mission near Lake Erie is, by the Grace of God, again in a flourishing condition. Some of the Headmen of the Delawares have been converted, and initiated into the Christian Church by Holy Baptism, but they are still between hawk and buzzard, on the one side *wild* enemies of the Gospel, on the other side *white* enemies of all that is called Indian, but I am sure it is the work of God and He will maintain it and fulfill His thoughts of peace also among the several Indian Nations when His hour is come.

I remain with the most affectionate esteem Honoured and Dear Sir, your Friend and Brother in Christ,

John Ettwein.

A TRIP INTO SOUTH CAROLINA.

Account of an Inspection of the Lands intended for a Settlement of the Brethren, by Frederick von Marschall[14] and Christian Lewis Benzien,[15] in November and December, 1790.

In rendering a report of our journey and of what we accomplished in this matter we acknowledge that we have never been more forcibly impressed with the comforting promises of the Lord that He will not leave His children without help and succor in whatever they may undertake in His name, and in our various experiences we have certainly had the most positive evidence that it is His hand that doeth all things for the best.

We thankfully acknowledge His fatherly protection in having enabled us to perform our mission without interruption by sickness, especially as in all the region through which we passed a virulent type of Influenza was raging; there were a great number of deaths in the upper parts of South Carolina and we frequently made our night's lodging in houses where there were cases of this epidemic and where we were privileged to give such advice and aid as was in our power.

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[14] Frederick William von Marschall was born near Dresden, Feb. 5, 1721. He received his education in the University of Leipzig, his parents having intended him for military service; here he formed the acquaintance of the Moravian Brethren, which ultimately so shaped his course of life that he entered the service of the Church of his adoption.

After having filled various offices in England, Holland and Germany, he received the appointment of Warden of the property of the Brethren in Pennsylvania, where he arrived in 1761, and was chiefly engaged in regulating the affairs consequent to the abrogation of the economy system in Bethlehem and Nazareth. In 1768 he was transferred to Bethabara, N. C. and was intrumental in the founding of Salem. Here he departed, Feb. 11, 1802.

[15] Christian Lewis Benzien was born in London, July 19, 1753. In 1786, he became Marschall's assistant at Salem, and, in 1802, his successor as Administrator and Proprietor. He died Nov. 13, 1811.

The Daily Text for the 14th of November, the day on which we started on our journey, was: *All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.* Ps. xcviii, 3. It was particularly impressive to us because the chief object of the projected establishment of the Brethren on this tract is the furtherance of His kingdom, where, by word and deed, we may proclaim His salvation and glorify His blessed name.

John Samuel, the negro brother from Bethabara, had charge of our team, and on the 17th, we were joined by Bro. George Biebighausen who was on his way to Charleston and who overtook us 70 odd miles from Salem.

The weather became clear directly after our start and remained pleasant until we reached Charleston; hence the streams which we were obliged to cross, ordinarily swollen at this time of the year, were easily forded.

We spent the night of the 19th in Camden, formerly called Pine Tree, a very neat village. We were still more agreeably impressed, on the 20th, with the location of Statesboro, distant 22 miles, a town which has sprung up since the Revolution, beautifully situated on the High Hills of the Santee; we reached Manchester, 10 miles away, by evening; this village consists of a few houses only and bears evident traces, as does also the neighboring country, of the desolation wrought by the late war.

On the following day we crossed the three mile savannah or swamp by the Santee river without difficulty. This was the spot where Bro. Marschall and his wife were in no little peril 15 years ago. On that occasion, as is often the case, the entire swamp was inundated and those having the teams in charge were at some places obliged to wade breast-deep in the water and search for the submerged log road with poles.

During the forenoon of the 22nd, when 45 miles this side of Charleston, we reached the home of Philip Will, a nephew of Bro. Boemper and who, as a boy, lived in Bethlehem. It was very evident that he was overjoyed to receive a visit from the Brethren, and we, for our part, were glad to get definite information concerning the residence of Mr. Laurens as also of his well-being. We at once resolved to visit him on his place called Mepkin plantation, before proceeding to Charleston and we continued on our day's journey to Monk's Corners, where Bro. Bie-

bighausen parted from us, on the 23rd, on his direct road to Charleston. We turned to the left and, traversing a newly laid out and unusually straight road for a distance of 9 miles, we reached Mepkin Plantation. As the Mepkin bridge had just been removed and was in course of re-construction, we were guided by one of his negroes to his homestead. Mr. Laurens at once recognized Bro. Marschall and surmised that we had come on matters relating to his land offer, but at the same time he expressed regret that we had chosen so unfavorable a season of the year for our tour of inspection; he made solicitous inquiry about Bro. Ettwein and others of the Brethren.

In the course of the day he showed us over the plantation, which is very pleasantly situated on the Cooper river, and which he has adapted principally for the culture of rice; he has adopted the name for his place from the Mepkin tribe of Indians who formerly had their seat here.

It was evident to us that he treated his negroes—he is the owner of 300—with much kindness and consideration.

During the course of conversation he said that he already had had three ministers on his place to give religious teaching to his slaves, but that their conduct had been so reprehensible as to frustrate all his designs; hence he was quite satisfied to have his negroes lead a moral life; nor did he express any desire that the Brethren should engage in Gospel work among them. He made us acquainted with his son, who is at present a member of the Assembly and who seems to be quite in accord with the intentions of his father toward us.

Thus was the day spent in conversation which, although not entirely pertinent to the affair which most concerned us, nevertheless testified to the esteem and confidence which he bore to the Brethren. It was soon made plain to us that the good old man, while still adhering to his hopes that the land which he had offered us might please us and that we might accept it and begin a settlement thereon, was unable to give us any definite information as to its location, etc., because the drafts and all the papers thereto belonging were in the keeping of his former partner, John Lewis Gervais, of Charleston.

During the afternoon Bro. Marschall was overtaken by a spell of weakness which necessitated his being led to the house by

Mr. Laurens and Bro. Benzien. An old negro woman, head cook, mid-wife and doctor of the plantation, bathed his face with vinegar and the symptoms soon passed off.

We were anxious to make an early start on the morning of the 25th, but it was not until after some delay that we found an opportunity to confer with Mr. Laurens.

He thereupon wrote his wishes to Mr. Gervais, praying him to give us the necessary information and recommendations to expedite us on our way to Ninety Six.

In order, moreover, to insure our meeting Mr. Gervais, he and his son took us by boat several miles down the Cooper river to the latter's plantation, called Mepshoo, where we learned that we should be certain to find Mr. Gervais in Charleston.

Here we gave a hearty farewell to dear old Mr. Laurens and his son, although we fully expected to revisit Mepkin in the course of a few days on our return trip from Ninety Six, a plan which we were obliged to abandon, however, as it would have made too great a detour. We traveled 21 miles more during the day, and in the forenoon of the 26th we accomplished the last stretch of 10 miles to Charleston.

We announced our arrival to Mr. Gervais without delay and obtained an interview with him during the afternoon. He was perfectly acquainted with the intentions of Mr. Laurens, gave us a chart of 5000 and several hundred acres, from which we were to select 2000 acres, and showed us the grant of the tract from the Government to Mr. Laurens and himself. From both of these gentlemen, therefore, we must receive the deed. He promised, furthermore, to supply us as soon as possible with the necessary letters to his agent, the Surveyor and Registrar of Wills of Abbeville Co. in the district of Ninety Six.

In the meantime Bro. Biebighausen obtained several European mail parcels for us which we read and answered during the course of the two days following; we wrote letters to our dear Brethren in Salem and Bethlehem also, in spite of the discomforts of a little cold bed-room.

On the 27th we obtained from Gervais the promised letters to his agent mentioned above, Major Bowie of Abbeville Co., besides which he gave us a schedule of instructions to help us in finding the way to the land.

Although now ready to resume our journey, we delayed with the hope that Bro. Biebighausen might join our party after the arrival of his wagons and their being again fitted out for their return trip..

On the 28th we dined with Mr. George Forest, the usual correspondent of Bro. Bagge,[16] and found him very willing to take charge of our packets in future; in fact he seemed to be very glad to be of service to the Brethren in any way possible.

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[16] That Bro. Bagge was held in great esteem as well by others as by his fellow townsmen and fellow members of the Brethren's Church is very evidently shown by the following letter and its accompanying poetic effusion received by F. W. Marschall of Salem and penned by Alexander Martin, late Governor of North Carolina and dated May 4th., 1800.

"I sincerely condole with you and all the United Brethren for the Death of Mr. Bagge.

I consider the melancholy Event not only affecting Your Society, but a public Loss to our Country, and can truly say I sensibly feel it—as he was long my Friend and with whom I was acquainted from my Youth.

I take the Liberty to enclose you a few elegiac Lines expressive of his merit—they flowed from my Pen spontaneously, dictated by my Feelings and a sincere Respect for his Memory.

Perhaps they may be acceptable to you and his Friends. Accept my best Wishes for your Health and believe me with great Esteem and Respect, dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant

ALEX. MARTIN."

"To
THE MEMORY OF TRAUGOTT BAGGE ESQR
A DISTINGUISHED MEMBER OF
THE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,
WHO DIED
AT SALEM THE IST OF APRIL, 1800.

What Stroke of Fate has Salem's Son befell?
Their silent Griefs some sad Disaster tell,
No common Loss their heaving sighs deplore,
BAGGE, alas, the Friend of Man's no more.
True to his Trusts, who ever firmly stood
A bright Example, honest, wise and good.
From Suecia's* Realms in early Youth he came,
Led by Religion's pure and sacred Flame;
Lusatia's† Brethren claimed him as their own,

* He was born in Gothenburg, in Sweden.

† The United Brethren first formed their principal seat at Herrnhuth in Upper Lusatia, in Saxony."

We paid friendly calls upon Mr. Peace and Mr. Markley, both long-time acquaintances of the Brethren.

The wagons from Salem had not yet arrived on the morning of the 30th, and we felt obliged to resume our journey without Bro. Biebighausen's company.

We reached Dorchester, a small village 20 miles from Charleston, by evening. The rain which fell on this and the following several days caused us to feel uneasy about the condition of the streams which were still to be crossed.

The roads, too, between Dorchester and Orangeburg, a distance of about 60 miles are so wet and full of log bridges—for the land hereabout is low and swampy—that we could with difficulty make but short day's journeys.

The worst spots we encountered were the swamps of the Cypress and Walnut creeks, the first distant 10 miles and the latter 20 miles from Dorchester.

The 3rd. of December found us at Orangeburg, a small town settled many years ago by Germans, who, besides free transportation, had received town lots and farming lands from the English Government. The town does not seem to prosper, however; the descendants of the original settlers still live in the neighborhood but they no longer speak their mother tongue.

Here there is a bridge over an arm of the Edisto river, which we could not reach on account of the inundation of the adjoining swamp. We were obliged to make a detour to the right along a road which led presently through the Cowkan swamp and, 15 miles further on, through deep water at hap-hazard, being unable to see the dangerous spots which must be avoided.

'Mong whom his Virtues long have brightly shone;
There not confined, but to the World around
Deferred to man a general Good redound,
Columbia's Sons his generous Worth detail
With Sympathetic Tears his Fate bewail.

Go, gentle Spirit to those Realms above,
Where Peace and Friendship rule with holy Love,
Thy much lov'd ZINZENDORFF will joyfull rise,
Thy SPANGENBERG, and greet thee to the Skies,
Thy WATTEVILLE, and all th' united Choir
Will glow to meet thee with a sacred Fire.
With tenfold Talents gained, go meet thy Lord!
Enjoy the welcome Promise of His Word!

We piled our provisions and clothing on the wagon seat to keep them dry, an operation which we repeated several times in the course of our trip. It was a relief, indeed, to reach higher hill country and the weather too became pleasant with a clear sky.

On the 6th, we reached Ninety Six; this was the title given to a fort built during the Indian wars and again used during the Revolution and was derived from the fact that it was located 96 miles from Orangeburg; there is now built here a small town, called Cambridge and the distance to Charleston is said to be 170 miles. We found a great concourse of people who had assembled here on account of the session of Court at which cases pertaining to District Ninety Six were to be finally tried. Heretofore South Carolina has been divided into but a few large judicial Districts, but lately a further division into Counties has been effected, each of which is to have its own session of Court, similar to the arrangement for a long time adopted in the Northern States. We saw at once that there was no possibility of our securing night's lodging here, and besides, not finding Mr. Gervais' agent, Mr. Bowie, as we had hoped to, we resolved to travel some miles further towards Mr. Gervais' plantation, which lies in a due westerly direction, with the expectation of finding some kind of shelter before nightfall.

But at the few humble cabins which we passed, in spite of our earnest entreaties, we were denied accommodation and we were finally compelled to build a fire by the way-side, to prepare our meal and to keep us comfortable through the night.

Early in the morning of the 7th, we drove 7 miles further, reaching the house of Mr. Chambers, whose son we had befriended during the previous night, who guided us through woods and fields for several miles to Mr. Gervais' plantation, which he has named *Herrenhausen*. Mr. Gervais had given instructions to Thomas Edwards, the overseer of this plantation, to place a room in the house at our disposal as long as we desired it and not to let us lack in any comforts. The good people received us kindly and, in their way, did for us what they could. Since they are engaged in the culture of maize and indigo only and have no idea of meadows, the fare is of quite a different character from what we are accustomed at home; after much trouble we managed to secure a little milk, for on this whole plantation, which em-

braces more cleared land than Bethania or Christians' Spring and Gnadenthal together, they kept at present but one cow.

The dwelling house is two-storied, makes a rather handsome appearance, but has shutters only in place of windows; in fact we found but very few windows in this part of South Carolina.

Mr. Edwards dispatched a negro to Major Bowie with our letters, but the messenger returned on the 8th with the news that the Major had gone to Cambridge.

We soon saw that it would be impossible to transact our business from this place, because the land in question lies 10 miles further west, between Reedy Branch and Long Cane Creek. Mr. Edwards could give us no better advice than to make our headquarters with Mr. Morris who lives close by the upper end of the tract, on the other side however of Long Cane Creek. As he was about to go to Cambridge we sent a message to Major Bowie, requesting him to meet us at the proffered tract of land and to bring his surveyor's instruments with him. He made an engagement for the 10th. Mr. Edwards returned before night and we gave him some medicine for his indisposition, upon which he became more attentive to us and in fact on the 9th quite confidential.

We found him well versed in Scripture and, being a Baptist, he expressed himself as strongly opposed to infant baptism. As we did not argue this point with him, but rather laid stress upon the fact that all of us, whether we received baptism in infancy or in adult years, alike find redemption in Jesus' blood and death only, he became an interested listener and seemed to derive edification and comfort from the conversation. It was certainly a great pleasure to us to make the acquaintance of an awakened soul in this region. He subsequently made use of every opportunity to converse with us on spiritual matters, because, as he expressed it, he found children of God in us.

On the 10th we gave a hearty and thankful farewell to this family; the distance of 10 miles to Mr. Morris' house was traveled with difficulty as we found much trouble to keep on the right road. Mr. Morris was not at home but we were kindly received by his wife. After dinner we made the acquaintance of several men who knew about Mr. Laurens' land, and, as it seemed unlikely that Major Bowie would come to-day, we besought them

to take us to the place which they willingly did. We had hardly reached the lands before Major Bowie overtook us in company with a Mr. McBride who was to show us some of the boundaries of the tract.

We spent the remainder of the day in making a general inspection of the ground and found the land not all good but some mediocre and some very poor; still we believed that if it were the Lord's will that a settlement of the Brethren should be established here, the general contour of the tract offered some decided advantages, being gently elevated in the centre and bordered by low-lands on each side along the Reedy Branch and the Long Cane Creek.

Upon repeated references to the chart of the tract while on our way hither we had conjectured that the lower part of the section would be probably best fitted and most desirable for our purpose. Our advance-choice was a place where the two creeks approach each other to within a mile and where we found several springs designated on the map, remaining, however, on this side of the Long Cane creek which often overflows its banks, but including both sides of the Reedy Branch; nor did we have occasion to alter our opinion after having gone over the place, excepting that we were obliged to change the southern line to correspond with the boundaries of several pieces of the tract which had already been sold.

Major Bowie had, at our request, brought with him a chart prepared by the father of the Mr. Edwards mentioned above, on which he designated the character of the land and the quality and the adaptability of the soil at various parts of the tract; we found this of great service and it proved conclusively that the upper part which does not border on the Long Cane creek was the poorest land and had the least number of springs.

It offers, however, one important advantage inasmuch as the road from Charleston passes through it, while the lower part has but one road, and that but little traversed, leading to Hard Labor creek and Cambridge.

Major Bowie strongly advised us to choose the upper tract but we left the matter undetermined for this day.

We were highly pleased to find plenty of timber and stone suitable for building purposes; the latter are so scarce in some

sections of Ninety Six that in laying up foundations, bricks or even logs must be resorted to.

The timber consists mainly of several species of Oak and of Pine; there is however also some Hickory and, in the bottom lands, Poplar and Walnut.

The region, moreover, is well adapted for wheat raising, as we are assured by those who live here, and our attention was called to the fact also that here, as well as in Georgia, a good growth of Black Oak and Hickory is a proof of sufficient rain-fall and promises a better soil for grain than the presence of much Pine timber. We doubt that water-power could be obtained from either of the creeks sufficient to run a grist-mill, it is said, however, that the Reedy Branch has enough fall for a saw or fulling-mill.

Mr. Gervais, however, offers for sale a piece of land further down the creek which has ample water-power for a mill.

Having looked over the ground as much as we could for the day we returned to our lodgings with the intention of spending next day in examining the contour of the land and the character of the creeks and springs, before coming to any definite conclusion and running the lines of survey.

But it began raining hard on the morning of the 11th. and, although Mr. McBride was on hand in good time, there was no possibility of doing any work; the rain steadily increased and we foresaw that in a short time Long Cane creek would become impassable, for yesterday, in dry weather withal, the water reached the horse's saddle.

This gave us no little uneasiness, not only because we were anxious to be present when the survey of our tract is made, but because we wished to return to Messrs. Laurens and Gervais with a copy of the draft in order to expedite the drawing up of the Deed of transfer.

We were met with another disappointment too, inasmuch as Major Bowie, although quite willing to make the survey in our presence, insisted upon making the draft at his own good leisure and at his home, 16 miles away from here.

As the rain continued he repeatedly urged us to make the selection of the tract with its boundaries from his chart and to leave the running of the survey as well as the final steps towards obtaining possession of the land to him.

Having learned to know him better by this time and taking into consideration the responsible position that he holds—Surveyor, County Registrar and Agent for the gentlemen with whom we were dealing—we felt justified in placing full confidence in him.

Meanwhile we repaired to our room to confer and, if possible, to come to a final conclusion as to what part of the tract we should select for a future settlement of the Brethren.

As was mentioned in the record of yesterday's doings, both the upper and the lower parts of the land each offer some special advantages, so that, although the sentiments of the Conferences both of Bethlehem and of Salem were favorable to an immediate acceptance of Mr. Laurens' offer, we found no little difficulty in assuming the responsibility of a selection. In reading the text for the day: *The judgments of the Lord are sweeter than honey and the honeycomb*, Ps. xix, 10, 11, we derived comfort and encouragement in our mutual deliberations and, after we had agreed upon several propositions, we laid the questions before the Lord, with a hearfelt sense of His presence and an assurance of His approval of the following conclusions:

1st.—That a part of this land be accepted of Mr. Laurens for the purpose of establishing a settlement of the Brethren.

2ndly.—That for this purpose the lower part, lying on both sides of Reedy creek and reaching to the banks of Long Cane creek, be chosen.

No further details as to the method of beginning the settlement were determined upon as the entire tract consists of woodland. In our opinion the first steps will doubtless be the laying out of a farm with later accessions of trades and industrial occupations. There will be no lack of work for those who may occupy the land, as the neighborhood has been tolerably well settled by people from North Carolina and Virginia, who have moved hither since the war.

According to the statement of Mr. Laurens, Jr., the population of this district capable of bearing arms, which 10 years ago was hardly 5000, now reaches over 20,000.

Good tradesmen are very scarce here and many must do, for example, their own tanning, shoemaking, etc., so that we hear a great deal of gratification expressed at the prospect of having the Brethren settle here, for it seems that the good repute of our

artificers,—the tanner, shoemaker, tailor, hatter, blacksmith and potter—has reached this neighborhood. There is ready communication with Charleston and there is sent to the market of that city Tobacco—raised chiefly by former Virginians—Hemp and Indigo.

Augusta, in Georgia, situated 45 miles south of our land, will without doubt become the outlet for the products of this region in course of time, there being water transportation from that city to Savannah and Charleston; Long Cane creek empties into the Savannah river about 25 miles below this place.

What opportunities there may be found here for Gospel work is best known to our dear Lord; the negro population is not nearly so large here as nearer the coast, yet the hindrances and difficulties which must be overcome in instituting Mission work among the blacks are greater here than in the West Indies.

Before the war, the Indians, Creeks and Cherokees, came to Ninety Six for trading purposes, since then, however, the white settlers have spread much further west and the trading place is some 60 miles up, at Seneca, where Gen. Pickens resides, while the aborigines are scattered 40 miles further inland.

We are informed that there are some Germans living in Coffee Town; these useful and industrious settlers suffered much persecution and were finally financially ruined on account of their active loyalty to the King of England, during the war of the Revolution.

The Moravian Brethren have the reputation in this community of being a quiet, industrious and ingenious people, and it must be one of our chief cares to send as our first settlers hither such brethren and sisters who, by word and deed, may be recognized as children of God and who may testify to their neighbors what our chief object is in forming the new settlement.

We had repeated conferences with Major Bowie and Mr. McBride concerning the land and the neighborhood and we wished very much to examine the entire terrain more carefully and specifically and, in spite of the increasing unfavorable weather, we gave but little thought to our homeward journey.

Seeing, however, the prolixity of the entire matter and the unavoidable and expensive delays which the heavy rains would cause, we finally consented to entrust the final arrangements with

Messrs. Laurens and Gervais to Major Bowie, upon whom also, by virtue of his offices, fall the duties of surveying the tract and recording the deed.

We gave him therefore a memorandum of the boundaries as well as we were able to designate them on the chart, and there was left for him but to run one line in order to determine the 2000 acres.

He promised to attend to the matter as soon as possible and added: "You had better start at once in order to reach Abbeville Court House today. I will put you on the right road." We were obliged to make a detour because of the impassable condition of Long Cane creek.

We bade adieu to our friendly hostess, who, by the way, had moved hither with her family from Warwickshire, Eng., but a year ago, and we started on our home-journey with the confident hope that the Lord would cause all the unfinished details of this matter to be brought to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion. Our guide, good Major Bowie, very soon struck the wrong track and we presently found ourselves in a thick woods where, without the sign of a path, we were obliged to work our team through until we again found the road. The Major's horse, too, had the misfortune to stumble and fall injuring his rider so as nearly to prevent his going farther. By evening we reached Major Hamilton's in Abbeville Court House, 6 miles away from our land and Major Bowie at once turned homeward in order to have his sprained leg attended to.

Major Hamilton was not at home, but his good wife was so overjoyed on learning of our proposed settlement in the neighborhood that we had difficulty to induce her to accept pay for our entertainment.

Bro. Marschall now wrote the necessary letters to Messrs. Laurens and Gervais. Next day, the 12th., Mrs. Hamilton sent her son with us who brought us to a new bridge across Long Cane creek, 3 miles above, close by Mr. Smither's saw-mill. We found the bridge dismantled to a great extent, for fear of its being swept away by the high water.

After replacing some of the planks we got across safely and by evening we reached Cambridge, (called also Ninety Six), 22 miles distant from Abbeville Court House. We found that the

session of the court had adjourned yesterday, because the Judge was ill, nor could a panel of jury-men be secured on account of the prevailing influenza. A hotel-keeper and his wife whom we had met on our journey out, well and hearty, had since both died and were buried, and during the following several days we heard universal lamentations on account of the unhealthy season and many deaths. We stopped at a house where also lodged the State Attorney, Mr. Calhoun, who has greatly misconceived ideas of our project and sought to make all possible sport of us, offering us some of his lands on the Salude river at 10*s.* Sterling per acre.

On the 13th., upon reaching Wilson's creek, we could not approach the bridge on account of the high water, so we went to another bridge 5 miles above and crossed the Salude river at Swansey's Ferry, instead of the usual route, by Mason's Ferry. We now went 8 miles down and stopped with Mr. Griffin a very fine gentleman. Although we had traveled 23 miles today, we were but 12 miles away from Cambridge.

On the 14th. we traveled 25 miles, safely crossing several deep streams, among others Indian creek, and got night's lodging at a good house kept by James Abraham who had formerly been a ship's pilot and had visited many parts of Europe.

Next day, after going a mile and a half, we forded a large stream, the Duncan creek, which was but yesterday impassable.

We had still one difficult river to cross, about 1½ miles further on, called the Ennoree river, where there is no ferry; according to advice we turned to the left and reached Kennedy's Ford but found the current too strong to venture crossing. We built a good fire and remained here till 1 o'clock in the afternoon, by which time the water had subsided several inches. Several travelers crossed the ford before we made the attempt and finally a man who lived on the opposite side offered to take our baggage and the wagon across on a canoe by piece-meal, assuring us that he had repeatedly transported chaises in this way. We consented but not without some misgivings. He took us and the baggage across and next the four wheels and the tongue of the wagon. After starting with the wagon body and top, however, he toppled over with his craft and it cost a deal of labor to land them safely again. There was nothing left for us but to take the running gear back again when our driver, Samuel, braved the stream with

the horses and the empty wagon, reaching the other shore safely, although the wagon floated occasionally. We gave fervent thanks to God for His help. We went 4 miles further, crossing Tiger river at Hamilton's Ferry where we dried our clothing and stayed over night.

The father of our host, 30 years ago, lived in the Irish settlement, between Bethlehem and Christian's Spring, where he conducted a tannery.

On the 16th we crossed the Broad river at Fish-dam Ford safely, as also the Sandy river, where we wished to stop at a small public house kept by Mr. Gorrel, but because every one in the house was ill we were obliged to content ourselves with very inferior accommodation a short distance further on. Twenty Indians of the Catawba tribe were encamped here.

On the 17th we made a journey of 25 miles to the so called Old Nation Ford of the Catawba river and 6 miles more to the house of Mr. Thomas Blackenship where were finely entertained.

Our host, as did many of his neighbors, lived on land belonging to the Catawbas, part of the reserve of 15 miles square granted them by Government and which these Indians have been leasing to settlers for a term of 99 years at an annual rental of 10 Spanish dollars per sq. mile; they have now desisted from doing this; the entire nation of Catawbas is said to consist of but 4 or 5 hundred souls.

On the 18th we entered North Carolina, traveling by way of Charlotte and Salisbury, enjoying clear skies but cold weather, and on the 20th we reached Salem, thankful and happy to have returned home in good health and spirits.

The distance from this place to our land on Long Cane creek, in the district of Ninety Six, is about 215 miles.

ETTWEIN TO LAURENS, AUGUST 27, 1791.

Bethlehem, August 27th.,
1791.

Henry Laurens Esqr Senr

Honoured and Dear Sir,

I was very glad to hear that Mssrs. Fredk. Marshall and Benzien of Salem in North Carolina have been with you, at your Seat, to their great Satisfaction, and that they

in Consequence of your generous Gift of Land, for a Brethren's Settlement, were also in Ninety Six and fixed upon a spot of ground for such Settlement.

I expected by this Time to hear, that at least one family had taken possession, to begin a Farm and to clear the Land, where a regular Town is to be laid out. By laying out such ground plots in the Woods, we have made several grand mistakes, which we could see, but not mend, as soon as the ground was fully cleared.

By letters of July 17th I find nothing has been done as yet, Mr Marshall wrote to me, that Major Bowie has surveyed the Land, but he had not received the Deed, nor any answer to his Letter, which he had written to Mr Gervais. A friend and neighbour of the Brethren, who was in Ninety Six, at the Time when Major Bowie was at Charleston; the same said on his return to Salem, that Mr Gervais had declared, he would not sign the Deed, before an actual beginning, to build was made.

I know nothing of that Gentleman, but as you my Dear Sir and Mr Marshall are like myself Old men, we cannot help to be concerned about the Security of the Title, as it will be necessary, to borrow Money on Interest, to promote the Settlement we must also be sure of our Possession, be it small or great. We cannot positively say: *this* we will do, in the year 1791, and *that* in 1792, but am sure it will be a pleasure to the Brethren, to do the Work committed to them, as fast as God enables us for it.

The Brethren's Church considers it now as her incumbent Duty to make a settlement on your gift in Ninety Six District, and as soon as the Title is made to Mr Fr. Marshall, he will take care that with the blessing of God, a beginning be made, without loss of time, but if this Child is stifled in the Birth, it will want no nursing father nor nursing mother.

Our mission, near Lake Erie, has of late been in a flourishing situation, but since the unlucky affair on Miami, last October the W. Indian nations have all taken the hatchet against the U. St. and as the Christian Indians would not join with them, the Delaware Captain, Wiandot & Ottawa, ordered them to get out of their way, if they would not be treated again as they were on Muskingum, and as the militz in the Western Territory act often without, if not against command and kill all Indians they can find, be they friend or foe, the missionaries were forced to im-

plore the English Government, for a place of safety on the other side of Lake Erie which was kindly granted and the whole Indian Congregation about 200 souls retired in April last to the British side of River Detroit, to be there until a firm peace with the Indians be made. I find myself in my 71st year, God be thanked in good health, that this may find you so too, is my hearty wish and prayer. I remain with Love & Esteem

Dear Sir

your known old friend
and Brother in Christ

John Ettwein.

F. W. MARSCHALL TO LAURENS, SEPTEMBER 20, 1791.

Honoured & Dear Sir,

Wishing that these Lines may find our highly esteemed Friend Henry Laurens & and all his worthy Family in perfect Health, I beg leave to repeat, that in my Letter to You—wrote in haste the 11th of December last Year from Abbeville Courthouse, upon our Return from Your Land on Long Cane—which Major Bowie took the Charge to remit to Colonel Gervays—I mentioned our gratefully accepting Your kind Offer of Part of said Tract, which we fixed on that Side of Long Cane, where Reedy Creek layeth, and along Mac. Bride's, where there might be in all 2500 Acs left, out of which Major Bowie promised to run out 2000 Acres for us, as soon as possible—proposing at the same Time how the Deed when executed, might be the soonest remitted to him for Registry, & that he would send it to me by an Express or by Way of Charleston, together with the Survey.

Prevented by the Rains whereby Long Cane became impassable, the short Time we could stay there, not having admitted a closer Examination of the Land, Major Bowie intended to take Notice of all the Springs, Hills & other Particulars, that should come within his Observation, in running the Lines, and might pave the Way for determining upon a proper Spot for the Town.

Having had no account for three Months, I wrote on the first of March to Colonel Gervays by a Man going to Charleston, but receiving no Answer at his return, I desired a neighbouring Gentleman who set out in May for Georgia to call on Major

Bowie in his Way, which he did, and learned at his House, that the Major was just then at Charleston, and the Land had been run out, but he brought no Account of the Survey or Deed.

This being the Time of the Year when People do not go to Charleston for fear of Sickness, nor any intelligence arriving another way, I thought it was best to send an Express, to be informed by Yourself, what is or may be done, or how to govern ourselves. The Bearer George Biebighausen will wait Your Orders, whom you may entrust with any Thing. Both You & I being advanced in Years, I am afraid, if the Matter should be delayed, that the Decease of either of us might possibly throw some Impediment in the Way. Besides, the Deed being intended to be made to me in Fee simple, I shall want to insert it in my Will and Testament, immediately after the Receit thereof—an indispensable Duty I owe my Brethren, to secure their Possessions, as well as the Sums they shall be obliged to raise for the Settlement, which maketh me the more solicitous to leave nothing undone what might be required either for Dispatch or Safety, in particular, as we are neither so rich as to have Sums of Money, nor so numerous as to have proper Persons at immediate Command whom we are often obliged to send for to Europe or Pennsylvania, all which requireth Time & a cleared Way.

Dearest Sir! Your own generous Offer of that Land for a Settlement of the Brethren, in so obliging Terms, indulgeth my fullest Persuasion, that You will not think me too urgent, but bestow on it a favourable Construction, it being done only to promote Your as well as our Intention.

As soon as the Survey together with the Deed shall be arrived, it will animate our Endeavours to make all possible Dispatch for the Beginning, by sending Persons fully instructed, to execute it to the best of our Ability.

Mr Benzien joins me in presenting our affectionate Regards to Yourself and Son. I pray God to bestow on You & all Your Family his choicest Blessings, and am with highest Esteem

Honoured & Dear Sir

Your

Salem
the 20th of Sept.
1791.

most obedient humble Servant

Frederick William Marschall.

ETTWEIN TO HENRY LAURENS, JR., SPRING, 1793.

Honoured and dear Sir,

I heartily condole with you on the Loss of a good & dear Father, my much respected and beloved friend; at his first Visit to Bethabara in N. Car. we contracted a true & sincere friendship as Christians which lasted above 30 years. I know he believed in Jesus Christ & loved him as true Christians ought to do. If you follow his example in it, his blessing and the blessing of God Almighty, will rest upon you and yours.

You know dear Sir, that your deceased father, out of love & regard for the United Brethren, with an intention to serve S. Car. has offered me a Tract of his land, in Ninety Six, if the B^{rn} would make a Settlement on it. I told him that we in America could not undertake it, with out the consent and assistance of our Brethren abroad, with men & money, and that I would do what I could to promote it, he insinuated to me that his son knew his sentiments and that if he should be taken from hence before a clear determination he would care for it in his Will. After my return from Germany, I informed him of the resolution of the Brethren, to accept his offer and to make a Settlement in the State of S. Car. In his Letter of the 25th of June 1790, he wrote: 'The Land is still my property and 2000 acres of the best at the 'service of your Society, upon condition of establishing a Settle-'ment, I hope the month of Oct^{r} will not pass over before some 'of your friends shall appear & take possession of a spot,' and the 10th of Sept^{r} 90. he wrote to me, Concerning the land at Ninety Six, I shall be ready to fulfill my promises, whenever any of your Brethren shall appear, I hope it will be in the Course of next month, I shall rather exceed than fall short of my propositions.

You know Sir what has since been done in this affair. I would have wrote to you sooner, but learning in January last, that M^{r} Marshall had wrote to your father about it, I chose to wait, until I should farther hear about it. In Letters of Febr 28th M^{r} Benzien informed me, that they had heard of the Death, of our worthy Friend H. Laurens, Sen^{r} but they did not know, whether he had rececived M^{r} Marshalls Letter, before his deceaseor not.

I would therefore be highly obliged to you Sir, if you would

be so kind & inform me, how matters stand now, and what we have to depend on.

In a Letter of Septr 10th 87. your father of blessed memory wrote to me. My dear friend. I had the pleasure of writing to you the 14th July, making an offer to your Brethren of a Tract of land at Ninety Six—certain articles respecting that land, which now appear to me essential, were then omitted—to make the necessary addition is the purpose of my present address.

first, The land lies in a well settled neighborhood in little or no danger from Incursions of Savages.

2d The road from thence to this City although not so good as it ought to be, is not worse than the road was, when I travelled it, from Bethlehem to Philadelphia.

3d The Taxes are light, about eight Dollars per thousand acres. And no arrears of Taxes.

4th My Neighbour John Gervais Esqr who has a tract adjoining, being one moiety of my original tract, assures me he can sell his part at a Guinea pr Acre, on Credit with good Security for payment.

If these intimations shall prove an inducement send your Deputies I intreat you and take possession.

MARSCHALL TO HENRY LAURENS, JR., APRIL 8, 1793, WITH EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF LAURENS, SR., DECEASED.

Salem the 8th of Apr. 1793.

To Henry Laurens Esqr jun.

Dear Sir, You will remember that the late Honble Mr Laurens Your Father, persuaded in his patriotic Mind, that a Settlement of the United Brethren in South Carolina might be of public Utility, made them of his own mere motion an Offer of a Piece of Land in the district of Ninetysix, where he thought it might not also be too distant, in Case of a Possibility to preach the Gospel among the Indians, and that in the Month of November 1790,—when I and Mr Benzien waited on You at Mepkin, it was resolved that the Part of the Land we should choose for a settlement, was to be conveyed to me in Fee Simple. The Year after, having heard nothing of the Deed being executed, when I sent Mr.

Biebighausen as Express, M^r^. Laurens was pleased repeatedly to declare the same Intention, and in a Letter wrote to M^r^. Biebighausen dated the 31^st^ of Jan^y^. 1792, having mentioned that the Execution of the Deed wholly depended upon M^r^. Gervais, and some hindrances he had met with, he says: "The Moment I heard of his "Return from Ninetysix, I writ to him on the Subject of the "deed, adding that I was afraid, my Friends the Moravians would "think I trifled with them, he returned for answer, he would call "upon me before he went to Charleston. Nothing in my Power "has been or shall be omitted to bring the Business to a Conclu- "sion. It was unlucky that any Part of his Land was compre- "hended in the Survey, had it not been, I should long since have "executed proper Titles." In this Dilemma M^r^. Sam^l^. Stotz tho' much engaged at home, has resolved to go to Charleston to wait on You as well as M^r^. Gervais and beg Your ultimate Resolution about it. If the Land be conveyed to me as M^r^. Laurens intended, You may depend upon it that we shall make no Delay, but use our best Endeavours to accomplish his Intention with this Settlement; however I should be sorry, if this matter, which originated in his own Breast, in a religious and public spirited View, without any Persuasion of ours, could not be effected with Your full Satisfaction and the Wishes of his respectable Family for its good Success, to which—if it happeneth, I shall beg Leave to recommend our future Settlement in South Carolina for Your further Favours. M^r^. Benzien joineth me in his best Respects to You &c. F. M.

Extract of H^y^ Laurens's Will, dated the first day of Nov^br^ 1792.

I give & devise to my Daughter M^rs^ Ramsay and to Doctor Ramsay all my Lands at Long Cane in the District of Ninetysix, containing in the whole about Six thousand Acres, together with all my Lots in the Village of Hampstead, and all my Marsh in the front thereof (which Lands I have estimated at one thousand seven hundred and fifty Pounds, altho' in my Conscience I believe them to be worth more than double that Sum) To hold the same to them and their Heirs in Trust and to and for the Use and Behoof of my Grand Daughter Frances Eleanor Laurens during her Life, and in Case she should leave a Child or Children

or Grand Child or Grand Children living at her Death, then I devise the sum to such Child or Grand Child if only one in fee simple. But if more than one, then I devise the same to them share and share alike (the Grand Children representing the Parent) and to their Heirs for Ever. But in Case she should die without leaving a Child or Children or Grand Child, then I devise the said Lands to my Son Henry and his Heirs for ever. And whereas in the Lifetime of my late Son John Laurens the Father of my said Grand Daughter, I advanced to him about the Sum of four thouand Pounds, so that four thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds more will compleat the Portion of my Estate which I have allotted for her, I therefore give and bequeath to my said Grand Daughter Frances Eleanor Laurens the Sum of four thousand two hundred & fifty Pounds Sterling Money of this State to be paid to her by my Son out of the Estate which I hereby devise to him, with an Interest of five per Cent per Annum, to commence from the End of one Year after my Decease, and I direct that such Payment shall be made on the day of her Marriage, or on her attaining the Age of twenty one Years, provided that such Payment shall not any rate be due until the Expiration of one Year after my decease. And in Case my said Grand Daughter should die, leaving issue living at her Decease, then I give and bequeath the said Sum of four thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds to be equally divided among such Issue, Share and Share alike, taking care at all times that the Children of a deceased Parent shall only represent the Parent in the Distribution of my Estate. But in Case my said Grand Daughter should die without leaving Issue at the Time of her Death, that shall then be alive, then and in such Case whether she be single or married, I give the said Sum of Money equally between my Daughters M^rs^ Ramsay and M^rs^ Pinkney if they be living, or if either of them be dead leaving any Issue which may be alive at the death of the said Frances Eleanor, then I desire that such Issue shall represent the Parent. But if one of my said Daughters shall then be dead, leaving no Child or Children living at that Time, then I give one Mojety of the said Money to the other of my said Daughters if she be then alive or to her Child or Children if she be dead, and the other Moiety I give to my Son Henry, or if he be dead to his Issue, should he leave any. And

in Case my Grand Daughter and both my Daughters should die childless, then I devise the same to my Son Henry absolutely.

Secretary's Office Charleston

The foregoing is a just and true Extract taken from the original Will remaining on Record in this office and examined this 15th April 1793 by PETER FRENEAU,
Secretary.

In the meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, held at Salem, N. C., November 28, 1793, it was reported that the enterprise had finally been abandoned after the discovery made by Samuel Stotz on the occasion of his visit to Charleston, in April 1793, viz., that the land in question had become the property of other persons who took no interest in the project which the elder Laurens had so persistently urged, while those who were most intimately associated with him were in every way obstructing it, a thing which he evidently did not suspect while he was yet in correspondence with the Brethren.

THE

Confusion at Tulpehocken.

BY J. TAYLOR HAMILTON.

THE CONFUSION AT TULPEHOCKEN.[1]

The subjoined leaves from the annals of one of the oldest German settlements in the interior of Pennsylvania are herewith published, not so much as a direct contribution to the history of the incipient stages of the establishment of the Moravian Church in America, but as an illustration of the practical difficulties which beset Count Zinzendorf in his effort to found an evangelical alliance of German-speaking Protestants in the Colony at a time when the denominational distinctions of the old world had not yet irrevocably rooted themselves in the new.

Throughout the perusal of these pages it should be remembered that no confessional church had made any serious and systematic effort to adequately meet the religious needs of the Germans of Pennsylvania, previous to his arrival at Philadelphia in 1742. On the one hand, no well-developed denominational organization could claim rights based on priority of occupation. Neither classis nor ministerium existed. On the other hand, the religious needs of the German settlers were appalling. It was estimated that there were about 100,000 Germans in Pennsylvania, amongst whom not a dozen duly authorized and regularly ordained German ministers were laboring. Many of the original settlers had sought Pennsylvania for liberty of conscience, and had brought with them devotional works whose perusal ministered to their edification. But, after the death of the few pastors who accompanied them, a new generation was growing up devoid of the ordinances of the Church and the benefits of religion. Repeatedly requests for pastors had been sent to Halle and to court-preacher Ziegenhagen in London. But the German colonists were for the most part poor, and could not guarantee satisfactory salaries. In the year 1737 Mr. Ziegenhagen repeatedly assured Zinzendorf that no minister

[1] The name Tulpehocken is supposed to be a corruption of the Delaware Indian *Tulpewi—hacki* = Land of the Turtles.

could be furnished.[2] With it all a number of earnest men yearned after a better state of things. Thus Spangenberg, in his report on the religious situation in Pennsylvania, as embodied in the diary of Marienborn for December 31, 1739, says:

"Thus there is now a twofold work for the Brethren who shall go thither in pursuance of the Lord's will: the Gospel must be preached to many thousands who know nothing of it, or who have an indescribable hunger for it; and the awakened who are desirous for fellowship must be gathered into congregations. And this is not the work for one man, but for many. Moreover, there are the Indians, who do not willingly dwell near the Europeans: for them it may be that the hour of grace has sounded. And in the whole country there are few schools, and there is almost no one that makes the youth his concern. One may indeed see signs of a waking-up here and there in the land; and it is often not otherwise than as if a wind from the Lord was passing through the entire land and bringing all into movement and the spirit of inquiry. But since the affair is so extensive every one considers himself lacking in ability to take it in hand."

A number of these men had already banded together for the betterment of their fellow-countrymen in Pennsylvania apart from confessional lines. Known as the "Associated Brethren of Schippack," they met every month to study remedies, and maintained these conferences until 1740—Henry and Andrew Fry, Henry Antes, Francis Ritter, John Bechtel, John Adam Gruber, Jost Schmidt and George Bensel being prominent amongst them.

With a view to simply promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ amongst the Germans of Pennsylvania, Zinzendorf arrived in Philadelphia on December 10, 1741. That his undenominational purposes might be unhampered by narrower obligations, he had resigned his Moravian episcopate at a Synod held in Marienborn, in July of that year. Apart from his Moravian episcopal consecration he believed himself entitled to exercise the functions of a recognized clergyman, in virtue of his admission to orders by the Faculty of Tübingen on December 19, 1734. Moreover, that his rank might not obtrude itself and be utilized as an obstacle to Gospel ministry by such who would oppose his work, from his

[2] Naturelle Reflexiones, p. 207.

first arrival in Pennsylvania he wished to be known as Ludwig von Thürnstein, thus making use of a subordinate family title which he had already employed with the cognizance of the civil authorities when traveling from Reval to Riga in 1736.

His coming was opportune. On December 15 Henry Antes, a kindred soul, had issued a call for a general Conference of German Christians of every name, to convene at Germantown on the first day of the new year. Seven such conferences were held, and in them Zinzendorf naturally took a prominent part. Every German religious denomination that had adherents in the Colony was represented; but the project proved a failure. The time was not yet ripe. Denominational differences were intensified, not allayed.

In connection with the undoubted sensation which was made by the indefatigable efforts of this man of rank, wealth, education and talents to promote religion amongst the hitherto largely neglected German colonists, and especially on account of the pastoral relationship which he assumed towards the Lutherans of Philadelphia at the end of May, 1742, after repeated solicitations on their part, it was not unnatural that a vacant Lutheran congregation in the interior, one of the very few existing organizations, should have turned to him, and asked his kind offices in securing a minister. This was the Tulpehocken congregation in Lancaster (now Berks) County, on the frontier of the Indian country. Unfortunately for the peace of the Brethren afterwards —for this settlement had already been the scene of a bitter quarrel—the Count consented, and Gottlob Büttner,[3] well known to Moravian readers for his missionary work amongst the Indians of New York and Connecticut, was sent thither.

A somewhat romantic history had been that of these first tillers of the hills that slope on the south side of the Blue Mountains down to the Swatara and Tulpehocken[4] Creeks. They were natives of the Palatinate. The Rhine-land had been sorely devas-

[3] Gottlob Büttner was born in Silesia, Dec. 29, 1717. Came to America in 1741, and served as Rauch's assistant in Shekomeko, preaching to the Indians for the first time on Jan. 1742, and was then ordained by Nitschmann and Zinzendorf at Oley, Feb. 11, 1742. On Oct. 1, he rejoined Rauch at Shekomeko, where he met with remarkable success, but died at the early age of 27, on Feb. 24, 1745.

[4] The Tulpehocken Creek empties into the Schuylkill near Reading.

tated by the Thirty Years' War and through the ruthless barbarity of Turenne. In few countries had Penn's warm-hearted invitation to his new Province, coupled with promises of religious liberty, given out a more welcome sound. Queen Anne's offer of free transportation to her western colonies, and grants of land after their arrival, had lured from ten to twenty thousand Palatinates to England in 1709. Three thousand of these people had been forwarded to New York next year. Many of them received land up the Hudson in the region of the Catskills. Some acquired the right of settlement from the Indians of the Schoharie country, in 1712, prominent amongst whom was John Conrad Weisser, the father of the future well-known Indian Agent. Attracted to Pennsylvania by the friendliness of the authorities of that Colony, a portion of the Schoharie people, placing their effects in canoes, under the guidance of friendly Indians, in 1723, made their way down the Susquehanna, a perilous voyage of about three hundred miles, and coming up the Swatara settled along this tributary of the great Pennsylvanian river, and along the Tulpehocken Creek.[5] And now we let their church officers, in their own person, tell the story[6] of the troubles which arose amongst themselves, premising further only that Conrad Weisser, who as justice of the peace affirmed the verity of their narrative by affixing his signature and seal, settled in their vicinity, at Heidelberg, in 1729.

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[5] The squatting of the Germans upon the lands along the Tulpehocken made trouble with the Indians. At a Council held in Philadelphia with the colonial authorities, on June 5, 1728, Sassoonan, one of the chiefs of the Delawares, as spokesman claimed that the Indians had ceded and had been paid for land only as far as the hills a few miles beyond Oley, and that Tulpehocken lay in the Indian country, saying that the Indians had fields of corn standing there when the Germans took possession. James Logan, the chief land-commissioner for the Penns, corroborated these claims, and asserted that the late Governor Keith had transcended his authority in inviting the Palatinates from New York, and assigning the Tulpehocken lands to them. He stated that the land-commissioners had in no way abetted this transaction. In 1732, Thomas Penn accordingly purchased the tract from the Indians.

[6] We retain the orthography of their *Kirchenbuch* in respect to proper names, varied though it will appear, and translate also as literally as possible.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE EVANGELICAL GERMAN CONGREGATION AT TULPEHOCKEN, ITS COMMENCEMENT AND COURSE.

In the year 1723, Tulpehockin was first visited and settled by Lutherans who formerly lived at Schochari, who for the most part were persuaded and made restless in their hearts, whilst they still lived at Schochari by Bernhard van Dueren,[7] who was there their pastor (*Lehrer*), and who promised these people himself to remove to Tulpehockin and to remain their pastor. But he only came hither several times and at intervals kept the communion and baptized their children, and then he went away again to Schochari. There came also a pastor named Henckel[8] from Falckner Schwamm to us sometimes, and visited us and sometimes administered the communion, who advised us to build a church, which happened in 1727. Peter Müller,[9] a Reformed

[7] John Bernhard Van Dieren (Doeren, Düren) is said by Lutheran writers to have been a tailor who came with books given him by the Rev. A. W. Bœhme, the predecessor of Ziegenhagen in London, as a sort of colporteur, but who claimed to be a *bona fide* minister. In 1717 he officiated at Schoharie. After creating disturbances in the congregations on the Hudson he settled at Raritan, N. J.

[8] Gerhard Henkel served the Lutheran congregation at Falkner's Swamp (New Hanover) from the year 1717 or 1718, and also itinerated.

[9] John Peter Müller (or Miller), born 1710 at Lautern, in the Palatinate. Student at Heidelberg. Came to Pa. 1730, being sent thither by the Reformed *Consistorium* of Heidelberg. Pastor of the Reformed Church at Tulpehocken. In 1734, he joined Conrad Beissel's order of Protestant monks at Ephrata, being known as "Brother Jabez," or "Peter the Hermit." A man of extensive scholarship, he had charge of the publishing operations of the community, wrote a number of hymns, and translated from Dutch into German the "Baptist Martyr-book," "Der blutige Schauplatz, oder Märtyrer-Spiegel," published at Ephrata 1748. He died in 1796, and soon after the Order of the Solitary disbanded.

preacher came also to us, and attended to the services almost two years (afterwards he joined the *Siebentäger*). Caspar Stiefer[10] who went about the land preaching, also came sometimes to us, and also at intervals preached in our church, whilst in the meantime we had sermons read by laymen (*Vorlesen*). At length we were desirous and determined to call a regular preacher (*Lehrer*) who should dwell with us. And this took place as hereafter related in a narrative which was printed, by the congregation at Bethlehem in the Forks, in the year 1742. The title of this writing is, "The Confusion of Tulpehocken (*Die Confusion von Tulpohocken*)."

Recently there came to hand an English printed pamphlet, with the title "A Protestation of the Members of the Protestant Lutheran and Reformed Religions about the bad Commotion which happened on Sunday the 18th of July 1742."

In this same pamphlet many accusations are to be found against the so-called Moravian people, who they are, and what they are alleged to have done. And since amongst the rest, they are said to have raised a confusion here around Tulpehockin, therefore we wish to set forth for the benefit of those who are desirous of knowing about the affair, how the Confusion of Tulpehockin began and how it continued. For since it is a confusion already several years old, these whom one

[10] John Caspar Stoever (or Stiever), Jr., arrived with other emigrants at Philadelphia, Sept. 11, 1728. He was a cousin of the famous theologian Fresenius, one of the bitter antagonists of Zinzendorf. He signed himself a student of theology at the time of his landing. Lutheran writers admit that his character and conduct can not be regarded as wholly exemplary in the first years of his stay in America—as little as the character of John Christian Schultze who ordained him. With Kraft he at first strenuously opposed Mühlenberg, regarding his claims as arbitrary, but in 1763 was received into the ministerium. For many years he lived at Earltown (New Holland, Lancaster Co.), performing ministerial acts through a wide sweep of country.

calls the new-comers, can not be the cause of it; but who is the author, we will let every one perceive for himself from a most accurate narrative.

Before we were made aware from outside of a confusion in religious matters in our locality, and many years ago, we were desirous to have with us a regular minister (*Lehrer*) who should preach the Word of God in its purity. We thus came to know a preacher who had been ordained in London, by name Caspar Liebbeker,[11] who gave us knowledge of a conscientious minister (*Lehrer*) in Germany, to whom we sent a call in 1733 attested by the signature and seal of each person. We soon after received word that it had been accepted by him[12] and that he was on the way in order to come to us. Meanwhile, at the instance of the above mentioned preacher, Caspar Leibbeker, we built a house for the expected minister (*Lehrer*) during the erection of which (6 weeks) he undertook to preach and exhort amongst us. And God so blessed his ministrations that the hearts of the majority were inclined to him, in so much that they would gladly have accepted him as their pastor loci, since we thought we could not obtain for ourselves a more faithful and better man than he. This the Reformed who then dwelt amongst us, also declared.

Finally he went away from us to Matetsche,[13] where he had his home, but came sometimes and instructed us. But after almost a year had passed, we received news that our preacher who was coming from Germany died at sea. Therefore we unanimously extended to our already beloved Caspar Leibbeker a call to become our

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[11] Dr. Wm. Mann in his *Mühlenberg* asserts that Leibbecker, whom he calls Leutbecker, was a tailor—a pious layman. He himself claimed to have been ordained by the Rev. A. W. Böhme, the predecessor of Ziegenhagen at the St. James Chapel in London.

[12] Said to have been named Bagenkopf.

[13] (Matetscha) near Schippack, some miles south of Providence.

regular minister (*Lehrer*), to further continue to give himself to the cure and care of souls amongst us, as our special pastor. Now he knew us, and we him, and therefore it happened without difficulty, that he accepted the call, came to us, took possession of the house built for the minister, and preached his introductory sermon, in which he declared how he would conduct himself towards the congregation respecting his preaching and administering the Sacraments, and that he intended to conduct himself in these things as in God's sight and according to his conscience. This took place in 1734. He also did this according to all the ability that the Lord gave him, and instructed not only the parents of such children as were brought to be baptized, but also the sponsors, with regard to the importance of the sacrament of baptism, and also indicated to us who was qualified and who unqualified for the Lord's Supper, which fidelity the dear God blessed to so very many dear hearts that all the congregation rejoiced thereat. All things continued to go in their regular order, until at length a certain man brought his child and wished it to be baptized by him; and when in accordance with his custom, he wished to speak with him and to instruct him with regard to it, he perceived that the man was drunk, on which account he turned him away with earnest words, and appointed another time. As appointed, he again made his appearance, but because he then found that he was still an unchanged man, he could not bring himself to baptize the child.

This man betook himself to Conestoga, to a certain Caspar Stiever, who had been unlawfully ordained in a tavern called the Trapp.[14] by a certain deceiver named Schulz[15] (who was afterwards imprisoned in Germany as

[14] The Trappe (from Treppe, a stair-case) named from the conformation of the locality. Now known also as Providence.

[15] Pastor of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, which he organized, Sept. 1733 to the Spring of 1734.

an evil doer), and desired him to baptize his child, which he also granted on condition that a man should meet him on the bridge then called Tulpehocken bridge at twelve o'clock on an appointed day, who should thence guide him by the rear of the plantations to the house where the child was that should be baptized. A man accordingly went to the place appointed, and waited for him. But as Stiever came by another road and so missed this place, and came by another way, he was recognized at Michael Emerich's house by the man who had first recommended him, and by him brought to the desired place, where he undertook to baptize the child, without giving the regular pastor loci information about it and without inquiring into the circumstances.

This was now the first intervention on the part of Caspar Stiever, and the first occasion for the Confusion of Tulpehockin; for since our real pastor aimed at sound Christianity and a pure walk, others who were dissatisfied and preferred to remain in their old way, soon joined the man previously referred to.

This opportunity Stiever now made use of for himself, and in order to gather a following, held meetings for them, first in a barn, and then after a time sought to come with his people into the church to preach there; and in this he succeeded the more rapidly because our pastor was a lover of peace, and preferred to give up his rights rather than hear nothing except abuses. Shortly afterwards it appeared that more was involved, and that the possession of the church was in question. For when we put a lock on the gate in front of the church, to keep the cattle from entering the graveyard as formerly, it was broken by his people. And when we put another in place, they cut another entrance, which is still to be seen, just as if we wished to keep them out of the grave yard. Meantime our pastor continued to preach some-

times in the church, when we were without a tumult: but sometimes he had to vacate it in order to prevent a tumult, till at last by unheard-of abuse and scurrility Stiever so urged on his people, that we were quite put out of the church, and had to have our services in the minister's house.

So it continued for a time, during which we took counsel in part among ourselves and in part with other persons of judgment, as to how such confusion and dreadful sowing of wrong could be brought to a peaceful end.

So at last it came to pass that it was suggested to refer the whole matter for advice and settlement to magistrate William Webb,[16] who held the whole power over the land where the church stood. Two of us were dispatched to him at our own expense and acquainted him with the whole course of events. Whereupon, on January 22, 1735, he sent a written warrant,[17] which gave Caspar

[16] Of Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa.

[17] For Casper Liebecker at Tulpehocken in Lancaster County these:

JANUARY 22, 1735–6.

LOVING FRIEND,

Caspar Leibecker, upon the application of Leonard Read and Michael Sheaver in relation to a difference happening amongst the people belonging to the society of which thou art a Teacher (among them) but it being the inclination of the first erecters of the house that it might be kept for the use of the Society that first erected it and not to admitt any others of a different persuasion & contrary to the mind of your Church-Wardens to come and preach there without the allowance of the Minister and Church-wardens approved by the people first erecting the same. Therefore I here assure you that none shall have any toleration from me for the molesting You in the peaceable enjoyment of worshipping God in your own way, and that no person whatever presume to take or carry away any part belonging thereto, as they shall answer the contrary at their perill if these dissenting from You are not satisfied to meet with You, they have the liberty of building a house agreable to their mind elsewhere: Therefore give you toleration to put a lock on the same and keep possession thereof for the use and of the Society of which thou belongs, unless it should stand good with those holding the same principles should see meet by general consent to chuse another in thy stead. And in order to preserve the peace of the religious

Leibbeker sole authority to teach and preach in the church, and enjoined upon the party of Stiever to keep the peace, until he came hither, to thoroughly investigate the case—to which they gave no heed, but continued in their course of action as though they had the authority.

We therefore found ourselves compelled to send two deputies more to Mr. Webb, who renewed the former warrant with yet another,[18] which Stiever regarded as little as the first. Finally Mr. Webb himself came soon afterwards to us, for he desired to investigate the entire affair. And now, in order to proceed impartially and regularly, he took with himself in the church both our preacher and the intruder Stiever, seated himself between them, and opened his mind to them, that he had come to make peace, and they should therefore each advance his complaints, and thereupon the other should answer in an orderly fashion, that he might see with whom and where lay the foundation of this disorder.

Stiever thereupon began to complain against Leibbeker with all sorts of severe accusations, after which Mr. Webb desired Leibbeker's answer. He commenced.

Society, I impower Michael Sheaver and Leonard Read or one of them to keep the key thereof for the free uses aforesaid, and that all persons coming in a peaceable manner agreeable to the Minister and Church-Wardens may have free access to and worship in the house erected and appointed for that purpose as also to bury their dead in the grounds thereto belonging. The which power of keeping the key thereof is to be observed as above untill further orders from me or the gentleman for whom I am concerned. To conclude with kind Love to thee thy assured Friend.

Wm. Webb. [L. S.]
7 mo 14th 1736.

[18] I authorize & impower Casper Libecker to keep peaceable Possession of the house wherein he now dwells until further order given by John Page of the City of London Gent. or his lawful Attorney constituted and appointed shall farther direct, and likewise that no persons or person presume to disturb, molest or any ways to hinder the said Lighbecker in the peaceable Possession thereof as aforesaid, as they will answer it at their perill given under my hand the day and year abovesaid.

Wm. Webb. [L. S.]

But scarcely had he spoken a few words when Stiever interrupted him, and accused him with many and unheard-of lies, whereupon he was reminded by Mr. Webb to consider the object of their coming together. Mr. Webb told him to be silent until the other had his say. But when he had scarcely commenced again, Stiever stood up, and went out of the church scolding and reproaching. Agreeably to his friendly disposition, Mr. Webb was even yet not weary, but did his utmost and begged him to come back again. However, he could not affect him. But Stiever went his way in perfect fury with insults and abuses.

When now the afore-mentioned magistrate Mr. Webb saw that nothing could be accomplished in this way, and that he could thus bring about no peace, he determined to publicly give certain men administration over church and land, with instructions how they were to conduct themselves in regard to it. Therefore, in the first place, he at once took a lock, fixed it to the door, and locked the church, and went to his lodging-place, and gave our congregation, on Sept 13, 1736, a full and ample power,[19]

[19] For the Minister Lighbecker and Congregation:

I William Webb of Kennet in Chester County lawful Attorney of John Page Gent^n^ of the City of London do hereby authorize and impower Leonard Read Frederick Sheaver Michael Read and Michael Sheaver or any one of them of Tulpehocken in my stead and place and in my absence to keep Possession the key of the Church and the Acres of ground for the free Use and Service of religiously assembling to serve God at such days and times as may be by the Minister and persons above-mentioned thought proper with free access of all persons behaving peaceably when there assembled no ways molesting or disturbing Casper Litbecker now the minister in the exercise of his duty constituted appointed & approved of by the Church wardens and Congregation or such other as the Church-Wardens and the Congregation shall hereafter approve, with the allowance of their minister which said House shall be kept and preserved for the use and Service of the religious Society of the Lutherans amongst whom Casper Lighbecker is now the Minister as also free liberty for the burial of all persons disposed to lay their Dead within the said ground untill such time or times as further orders shall be given by the said John Page or his lawfull attorney

and appointed in particular Leonhard Rith, Friedrich Schäffer, Michael Schäffer, and Michael Rith to see that the power was put in execution, and ordered that so long as only one of them remained, he should have the key of the church, and should allow no one to enter except one recognized by him as his minister. Thus by this Stiever's misdemeanour was positively prohibited. This now caused a dreadful tumult amongst these men, and a calumniation after their fashion, which then brought one of us, namely Leonhard Rith to the thought, whether peace might not be maintained, if we allowed them one Sunday a month, on which Stiever might preach, and yet, if *they agreed, attend our pastor* the first three Sundays, that they might see we did not love disturbance. We opposed him therein, yet brought the affair before Mr. Webb, who first of all was surprised at it, and then clearly indicated the consequences that would result, as it later indeed came to pass. Yet he gratified our wish, and under date of Sept. 15, 1736, gave Caspar Stiever a formal permission, to enter the church on one Sunday in each month, on which day we opened the church for him, that he might admonish his people for good. In this manner we hoped it would go better, and opened the door for him every fourth Sunday. After an interval of time, however, he came and wished to enter in addition to his permitted time. Then we would not gratify

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constituted and appointed. In Witness whereof I the aforesaid Wm Webb have hereunto set my hand and seal this 13th day of September 1736.

Wm. Webb.

I also further direct that if any Person or persons shall hereafter presume to molest the minister Casper Lighbecker now approved or hereafter to be approved by the Church-Wardens or their Successors and the congregation in the discharge of his duty as also to prejudice the Church, Burying ground or any Thing thereunto belonging shall be proceeded with according to law.

Therefore it is desired that all persons may take notice and behave themselves peaceably to avoid further trouble.

Wm. Webb.

him in his irregular undertaking, but advised him to desist.

Meantime however he determined to reach his purpose notwithstanding, and since he did not dare to break open Mr. Webb's lock, he determined to cut another door with the aid of his people. For this purpose they helped a young woman into the church through a window, who together with another standing outside the church cut a hole with a saw in Stiever's presence, which is a spectacle still to be seen at the present day. When they were ready with this Stiever entered and that same hour kept as they called it a service preparatory to the Lord's supper, and appointed to administer it to his people on the following day. When we came to the church, we found that there were already others within, and heard all that passed with astonishment (seeing him give the sacrament to such people). Furthermore they entered the church on the next Sunday and on the one following, and if Stiever did not preach, they read a sermon, and so we with our pastor and authorized services were crowded out.

In such a state of affairs we could not do otherwise than resolve to lay our case before the magistrate, and to this we were advised by many who had knowledge of the affair, and especially by Mr. Webb himself, who intimated to us that the magistrates existed for the punishment of evil-doers. But our peace loving pastor was not of our mind, but admonished us to suffer the wrong, and as Christians rather suffer, and hold services in his home until the Lord himself should plainly show ways in which we might obtain our rights. We followed his advice, but to his own great damage; for instead of peace following our yielding, Satan raged more furiously, which will appear by what follows:

We thought we should be able to remain undisturbed

at least in the pastor's dwelling, but they sought to enter thither also, and actually bloodthirsty designs became apparent.

We will narrate only a few.

Once during the night, there was heard a great disturbance before the minister's house, with shooting and other alarms, at which however our good minister did not leave his bed. Finally, however, his window was shattered with great stones in such a manner that the stones and glass fell thick upon his bed, and he could no longer remain in it. Yet he remained in the house till the disturbance died down somewhat. Then he came half dead to the house of Leonhard, and told him of the dreadful doings, and remained there the rest of the night. On the following morning we went with him to his house, and found the house room and bed full of glass and stones, a cruel and dreadful sight. We determined henceforth to guard our preacher by night, and so prevent by God's grace the murder which we suspected. We did this for a considerable time, and when we thought the evil was past, we ceased to watch over the preacher. Yet after that similar disturbances arose.

Malice for which nothing was now too dreadful made another attempt in a different manner, namely, when we on a certain Sunday were holding services in the parsonage, and were singing the last hymn, we heard a loud report in the front of the room. And when we investigated we found that in a piece of wood in the stove a hole had been bored, which had been filled with powder and closed again with a wooden pin with undoubtedly malicious design, that it should blow up the stove and injure or kill some of the people by whom the room was filled. The providence of God had taken care however, that the wrong end of the stick had been thrust into the stove, so that when it went off, it discharged at the stove's

mouth with racket and din. Though an old woman was indeed standing nearby, it passed by her side without doing her the least injury.

From this time on, and already a little previous, our minister was almost continually sick owing to the many frights and frequent anxieties, until his physical weakness so much increased, that it was resolved to remove him to George Lösch's house, the better to nurse him and protect him in a measure from further tumultuous and riotous dangers of this sort. And there he blessedly departed to his Redeemer in the year 1738.[20]

Then we had no minister at all, who cared for our souls, and Caspar Stiever did as he pleased. But we could in no wise recognize him as a shepherd of souls, and remained a few years therefore as sheep without a shepherd, anxious how we might obtain a serviceable minister, who would once more take the oversight of us and our children like our faithful Leibbeker. We indeed took for a few years as a schoolmaster for our children a shoemaker who had come from Germany, but did not in that serve our interests and have had poor fruit from it.

Finally the gracious God, in mercy, had thought of us forsaken people, and began to answer our desire, after we became acquainted with his Grace, Herr von Thürnstein, in February of this year 1742. After a brief time for consideration he directed us to our future preacher Gottlob Büttner, whom we received with gladness of heart. And now we determined, if it could not be otherwise (and we could not keep our right without disturbance) to lay our matter before the magistrates and have it tried. We gave the party of Stiever notice, that we had now again another preacher in the place of Leib-

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[20] Leibbecker was buried by Spangenberg.

beker; if they wished to hear his preaching they were at liberty to do so. Furthermore, that we would continue to grant them the fourth Sunday in accordance with the permit given on Sept 15, 1736. Thereupon we inducted our preacher into the church on Sunday *Esto mihi*, and he delivered his introductory sermon, on the gospel lesson, and spoke on the sufferings of Christ very evangelically, so that we were quite satisfied with him. But he had also heard of the disturbance here and the confusion that had lasted for several years. So he exhorted us earnestly to peace, and advised us to yield as much as possible, and also added, as he believed, that we were the most wrong in the affair, and in spite of our explanations and representations, he remained of this conviction, that we were too severe. We were not altogether thankful for his expression of opinion, but openly told him he must first examine into the matter, for he certainly had not sufficient knowledge of the confusion here. We knew well enough one way of peace, viz. to join Stiever and his people in railing and to abide in our old ways. But that would be contrary to our conscience; and so he (our pastor) at last consented to let it pass till he further learnt to know Stiever and his behavior.

Meanwhile he continued to preach to us three Sundays in succession, and Stiever preached on the fourth, but ever in such a fashion that instead of one's seeing something good come out of it, only new lies and slanders were to be heard amongst those men. And if our minister's preaching was according to the word of God (as it approved itself also to the hearts), his people, if they had been in attendance, once more knew how to speak of nothing but heresies, Yes we had with our own ears to listen to him himself speaking most manifest lies about our pastor, and accusing him of the most abominable errors, whereas we knew just the contrary.

When the slanders began to increase, our minister thought we might have intruded ourselves and perhaps had no right to introduce him into the church, and had thereby aroused Stiever's hate. We sought to remove this idea by showing him our written warrant, and added that our dear Saviour had to endure worse abuse for his benefactions. But since he found no full and satisfactory ground in the present circumstances, to our great distress, on the 30th of May he publicly resigned his ministerial office as Lutheran pastor amongst us, hitherto discharged with blessing, and on the same day left us after bidding us a friendly farewell.

We officers (Vorsteher) now at once held a meeting of our congregation, and debated what was to be done, whereupon we unanimously resolved to call[21] anew our preacher who had just left us, and to give him thorough assurance of our rights. We informed Stiever's party, that

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[21] This call is dated Tulpohocken, anno 1742, 30th May. and signed by

Johannes Zerbe
Frederich Gerhart
Johannes Fischer
Michael Schöffer
Hermanus Wallbor
Lönhart Rit
Johannes Rit
Johannes Schöffer
Jacob Schöffer
Casper Rit
Michael Rith
Frederich Schöffer
Christian Wal Born
Hannes Lautermilch
Wenel Lautermilch
Jorg Lesh
Michael Emerich
Peter Teck
Peter Schöffer
Nicklass Schöffer
Nicklas Schöffer, Jünger
Casper Schaffer.

we had some time ago bought the church and parsonage and land thereto appertaining,[22] with the intent that our

[22] After having on the 14th day of May, 1742, by the payment of five shillings leased the church property for one year from John Page, through his agents Wm. Allen, Wm. Webb and Samuel Powell, Jr., the officers of the congregation, viz., Michael and Frederick Schäffer, Leonard and Michael Rieth, George Lösch and Herman Wallborn, on the next day, May 15, 1742, purchased it outright, as appears from the following deed.

"This indenture made the fifteenth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred forty-two Between John Page of Austin Fryers London Gentleman, William Allen of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pensylvania Esq.] William Webb in the County of Chester in the same Province Esq. and Samuel Powell junr. of the same City of Philadelphia Merchant of the one Part, and Michael Schaeffer, Frederich Schaeffer, Leonhard Read, Michael Read, George Lesh and Hermanus Walbone all of Tulpehocon in the County of Lancaster in the said Province yoemen of the other Part Whereas John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn Esqrs true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors in Chief of the Province of Pensylvania etc. by Patent under the great Seal of the same Province bearing Date the seventeenth Day of September Ao Domini one thousand seven hundred thirty five did grant and confirm unto the said John Page and to his Heirs and Assigns a certain tract of Land situate on Tulpehocon Creek in the County of Lancaster within the said Province by the Meets and Bounds in the said Patent mentioned containing five thousand one hundred sixty five Acres with all Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Meadows, Marshes, Savannahs, Swamps, Cripples, Woods, Underwoods, Timber, and Trees, Ways, Waters, Water-Courses, Liberties, Profits, Commodities, Advantages, Hereditaments and Appurtenances Whatsoever to the said five thousand one hundred sixty-five Acres of Land belonging or in any wise appertaining (Three full and clear fifth Parts of all Royal mines free from all Deductions and Reprisals for Digging and refining the same only excepted) And the said Proprietaries by their said Patent did erect the said Tract of Land in a Mannor and named it the Manor of Plumton and did further by the same Patent give and grant unto the said John Page and to his Heirs and Assigns full Power and authority to erect and constitute within the said Manor a Court Baron with all Things whatsoever which to a Court Baron do belong to have and to hold View of Frank Pledge for the Conservation of the the Peace and the better Government of the Inhabitants within the said Manor by the said John Page his Heirs and Assigns or his or their Stewards Lawfully deputed, and generally to do and use all Things which to the View of Frank Pledge do belong and to take and receive all and every the Fines Amerciaments and all other Profits which to a Court Baron Leet or View of Frank Pledge do belong or may or ought to belong To have and to hold the said Tract of five thousand one hundred sixty five Acres of Land, Hereditaments, Franchises, Powers, Privileges and premises

minister might the more quietly be able to discharge the duties of his function, and that every one might have liberty to hear him. Stiever we had also allowed to preach on the fourth Sunday, since Sept 15, 1736, "if he could keep the peace;" and any one who belonged to our church might have liberty of burying the dead in our graveyard.

But since we see no possibility of arriving at this so very desirable end, as long as Stiever was permitted to come into the church, therefore they were hereby for-

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(except before excepted) with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said John Page his Heirs and Assigns for ever to be holden of the said Proprietaries as of the Seignory of Windsor in free and common soccage by Fealty only in Lieu of all other Services Yealding and paying therefore yearly unto the said Proprietaries their Heirs and successors one red Rose on the twenty-fourth Day of June in every year for ever as in and by the said recited Patent recorded at Philadelphia aforesaid in Patent Book A Vol. 7 Page 264 etc. Relation thereunto being had appears And whereas the said John Page by his certain Writing or Letters of Attorney under his Hand and Seal duly executed and bearing Date the seventeenth Day of February one thousand seven hundred thirty six did make ordain constitute and appoint the said William Allen Webb and Samuel Powell each of them jointly and severally his true and Lawful Attorney and Attornies for him and in his Name to contract for the absolute Sale of and absolutely to bargain sell and convey to any Person or Persons and their Heirs for the best Price that can be gotten for the same all that his said Mannor of Plumton as the same is in the said Patent and Letters of Attorney set forth and described, and did further authorize his said Attornies and each of them jointly and severally absolutely to bargain sell and convey all his State Right Title Claim and Demand of into or out of the said Mannor Land and Premises Hereditaments and appurtenances to the said Mannor and Land belonging or in any wise appurtaining And for the Purposes aforesaid for him and in his name to sign seal and duly execute and deliver any Deed or Deeds which may be necessary and as his Acts and Deeds to acknowledge the same in any court or Courts or before any Judge or Judges competent for enrolling or registering the same or for any other Purpose necessary Giving and granting unto his said Attornies and each of them his full and whole Power in and concerning the said Premises thereby ratifying and confirming all and whatsoever they any or either of them shall lawfully act or do therein as in and by the said Letters of Attorney recorded at Philadelphia aforesaid in Book D 2, Vol. 2, page 196 etc. Relation thereto had appears.

Now this indenture witnesseth, that the said John Page by his said Attornies William Allen, William Webb and Samuel Powell for and in considera-

bidden to bring him any more; but if he came as a hearer and made no disturbance, he should not be hindered, and we desired the conversion of his heart thereby. But they might all be permitted to hear the word of God, as often as it was expounded and they desired to come. If they thought that in this way we were doing them an injustice, they should lay it before the magistrates, but if they, or Stiever, tried to achieve their purpose by force as formerly, we would apply to the magistrates and make an end to the confusion once and for all.

A few days later we received word from our preacher Gottlob Büttner that he had again accepted our call by

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tion of the Sum of four Pounds and seventeen shillings lawful money to them the said Attornies for the use of the said constituents in hand paid by the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonard Read, Michael Read, George Lesch and Hermannus Walbone the Receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath granted bargained sold released and confirmed and by these Presents doth grant bargain sell release and confirm unto the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Shaeffer, Leonard Read, George Lesch and Hermannus Walbone (in their actual Possession now being by virtue of a Bargain and Sale to them made for one year by Indenture bearing Date the day next before the day of the date hereof and made between the same Parties as these presents) and to their Heirs and Assigns a certain piece or parcel of Land Part of the Mannor of Plumton aforesaid Beginning at a corner marked Hickery being a corner of Land lately granted to Jacob Capf and of Rynier Essels Land thence extending by the said Essel's Land South fifty three Degrees West forty six perches and a half to a post in a line of the said Leonard Reads Land being a part of Gulielma Fell's Land, thence by the same North sexteen Degrees, East thirty seven perches to a post, thence by another part of the said Mannor south seventy four Degrees East fifty two perches to the place of Beginning containing eight Acres and one hundred and sixteen perches together also with all and singular the Buildings Improvements Ways Woods Watercourses Rights Liberties Privileges Heritaments and appurtences whatsoever thereunto belonging and the Reversions and Remainders thereof and true Copies of all Deeds Evidences and Writings whatsoever concerning the premises to be had and taken at the charge of the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonard Read, Michael Read, George Lesh and Hermannus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns To have and to hold the said described piece or parcel of Land Hereditaments and premises hereby granted and mentioned or intended to be with the Appurtenances unto the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonhard Read, Michael Read, George Lesch

the advice of other evangelical ministers, and would come to us as soon as possible. So we continued our Sunday services in the Church with singing, prayer and reading, until five weeks had passed. He then came to our joy, and anew entered upon his office, which he has also continued to administer in peace and blessing to the present. Meantime we have never permitted Stiever to preach, nor are we yet willing to do so, because we have never recognized him as a faithful minister. He preaches, as we hear, when he is here, in a Reformed church.

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and Hermannus Walbone and their Heirs to the only Use and Behoof of them and the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonard Read, Michael Read, George Lesch and Hermanus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns for ever to be holden of the said John Page his Heirs and Assigns as of the Mannor of Plumton aforesaid the said Michael Schaeffer Frederich Schaeffer Leonard Read Michael Read George Lesch and Hermanus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns doing and performing the customs and services of the said Mannor and yielding and paying therefor unto the said John Page his Heirs and Assigns the Rent of one red Rose on the twenty-third day of June in every year for ever and the said John Page by his said Attornies the said William Allen, William Webb, and Samuel Powel for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth covenant, promise and grant to and with the said Michael Schaeffer, Fredrich Schaeffer, Leonhard Read, Michael Read, George Lesch and Hermannus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns by these presents, that he the said John Page and his Heirs and all and every other person or persons whosoever having or lawfully claiming or to claim any Estate, Right, Title or Interest of in or to the said described piece or parcel of Land and premises or any part or parcel thereof by from or under him them or any of them shall and will at any Time or Times hereafter upon the reasonable Request Cost and Charges in Law of the said Michael Schaeffer Frederick Schaeffer Leonard Read Michael Read George Lesh and Hermannus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns make execute and acknowledge or cause to be all and every such further and other Lawfull and reasonable Act and Acts, Deed or Deeds, Device or Conveyances in the Law whatsoever for the further and better Assurance and Confirmation of the said described piece or parcel of Land Hereditaments and Premises with the Appurtenances unto the said Michael Schaeffer, Fredrick Schaeffer Leonard Read Michael Read George Lesh and Hermannus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns under the Rent and subject to the Customs and services aforesaid by them or their Councel learned in the Law shall be reasonably devised advised or required and the said William Allen for himself his Heirs Execrs and Adminrs the said William Webb for himself and his Heirs Execrs and Adminrs and the said Samuel Powel for himself his Heirs

This he may do, and we have nothing to say in regard to it.

This is now the manner of the commencement and continuance of the unblest Confusion, which has continued for several years here, whereby unspeakable iniquity has been caused.

Now that the Moravian people should lie in ambuscade for so many years behind Stiever and through him (for since his coming it first began) should occasion and carry on such mischief, is a strange affair, and seems to us incredible (for they are known in this land only

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Execrs and Adminrs do and each of them doth severally and not jointly or for another or for the Act or Acts of another, but for their own respective Acts only covenant promise and grant to and with the said Michael Schaeffer Fredrich Schaeffer Leonard Read Michael Read George Lesh and Hermannus Walbone their Heirs and Assigns by these presents that they the said William Allen, William Webb and Samuel Powell nor either of them have not done or wittingly or willingly suffered any Act Matter or Thing whatsoever whereby the premises hereby granted or any part or parcel thereof are is or shall or may be any ways impeached, charged or incumbered in Title, Estate or otherwise howsoever.

In witness whereof the said Parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereto. Dated the day and year first above written.

Sealed and delivered (the said William Allen, William Webb, and Samuel Powel signing the Name and sealing with the seal of their Sd Constituent John Page and also sealing with their own seals) in the presence of us
William Parsons
John Prichard jun.

John Page [L. S.]
Will. Allen [L.S.]
Wm. Webb [L. S.]
Sam. Powel jun. [L. S.]

Received on the Day of the Date of the within written Indenture from the within named Michael Schaeffer, Fredrich Schaeffer, Leonard Read, Michael Read George Lesh and Hermannus Walbone the sum of four pounds and seventeen shillings being the consideration-money within mentioned. Received for the use of the within named Constituent John Page.

Witness to the signing
Wm. Parsons
Jo. Prichard jun.

Will. Allen
Wm. Webb
Sam. Powel junr

recently for the first); but we will refer it to every one's examination, not with the intention of reviving anew these in part forgotten things, but because, as they have already been brought on the carpet in the above-mentioned protestation, we would represent them nakedly as they are. All that is herein contained can be proved as thoroughly accurate truths, if necessary, in part by records, and in part by yet living witnesses in town and country.

Tulpehocken the 11th of Aug 1742.

The Vorsteher of the
evangelical Lutheran
Congregation in Tulpehocken.

In the year 1742, the 16th of August, a writing came into my hands, called The Confusion of Tulpehocken, in which the deceit of Caspar Stiever with regard to the Lutheran Church is described. I therefore according to my best knowledge, do testify as an impartial spectator during the time the confusion began, that Stiever's proceedings were just so as is described in the above-mentioned writing, and that the whole relation contained in this writing is truth.

(SEAL) Conrad Weisser, Justice.

The circumstantial minuteness of this quaint old narrative removes the necessity of any attempt to depict the peculiar difficulties attending the entrance of the Brethren upon this field. Had they come avowedly as propagators of the faith and name of the Unitas Fratrum as such, and in the spirit of denominational partizans, it would have been better for them in the end, from a selfish point

of view; for their attitude as inter-denominational and undenominational Christian workers, in the event gave those an opportunity to step in, who ultimately appropriated the Church hereafter to be built under the direction of the Brethren themselves.

It was as a preacher of the Lutheran trope, or consistory, of the united activities directed by the "Pennsylvania Synod," that Gottlob Büttner had accepted his first call to Tulpehocken, and was formally commissioned to enter upon this call by Bishop Nitschmann, on April 8, 1742. With him was associated John Philip Meurer,[23] as teacher, in charge of a school for boys opened on July 4. Owing, however, to the needs of the Indian mission at Shekomeko, Büttner was removed in September, and Andrew Eschenbach,[24] the evangelist of the Brethren at Oley, filled his place temporarily. By this time well-satisfied with Meurer, the people of Tulpehocken now request that he officiate for them in spiritual things. His license as a preacher fulfills their wish on September 5, and for a season he unites in his person the functions of minister and instructor of the youth, the girls as well as the boys being now introduced to the rudiments of learning under his guidance. After a visit of inspection had been paid by Count Zinzendorf in the latter part of November, when he preached on the 24th of the month, from the text, Matthew 25 : 6, assistance arrives from Bethlehem

[23] John Philip Meurer was born at Ingweiler, Alsace, March 25, 1708. He joined the Brethren at Herrnhaag in 1740. In Nov. 1741, at Marienborn he was set apart as an evangelist in Pennsylvania, whither he came as a member of the first sea congregation in 1742. He was ordained on Dec. 9, at Tulpehocken, by Zinzendorf, assisted by Pyrlaeus, and served also at Donegal, Hebron, along the Swatara, York, Oley, Salisbury and Lynn. He died at Bethlehem, April 15, 1760.

[24] Andrew Eschenbach was born at Naumburg on the Saale, June 10, 1710. He came to Pennsylvania in 1740, to continue Spangenberg's home-mission work, making Oley the center of his ministry (see Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society Vol. 1, p. 440). He died at Oley June 7, 1763.

to lighten the labors of the incumbent of the dual office, John George Harden[25] and wife being sent to superintend the school. At this time the Vorsteher of the congregation are Hermanus Walborn and Casper Rieth.

Amongst the events of the succeeding year we note the convening of a Synod or conference at the house of Michael Schäffer of Tulpehocken, on January 9, and the return of the Hardens to Bethlehem in September. The why and the wherefore of this move, the present deponent saith not—there evidently being no question with regard to the quality of their material support, even were servants of the Brethren's Unity then disposed to haggle about such considerations, a trait the farthest possibly removed from their devoted lives; not this, for on January 4 of the new year, the well-known George Neisser puts in an appearance to do service in that capacity which won him fame in places of greater consequence. Again, however, the exigencies of the work at large, effect a sudden change in the pastorate. Meurer is needed for the itineracy, apparently in the valley of the Swatara and among the hills of Mountjoy. Peter Böhler, now the colleague of Bishop Nitschmann, soon takes measures to fill the vacancy. Meurer left on the 28th of January. Doubtless Neisser could temporarily exercise double functions. On the second last day of February the superintendent from Bethlehem has his interview with the officers of the congregation, and offers them in place of Meurer, George Nieke,[26] who being accepted, is duly ordained at a Synod held on March 1, at Oley, the churchwardens of

[25] George Harden (or Hardten or Harten) was a member of the First Sea Congregation.

[26] Geo. Nieke was one of the band organized at Herrnhut to form a part of the second Sea Congregation, and arrived in Pennsylvania in 1743. In 1746 he was appointed to Menakasy (Graceham) Maryland. The following is a translation of a passage from the old German diary of the Graceham congregation, kindly furnished by the present pastor, the Rev. Maurice F. Oerter; "About the middle of the year 1746 an ordained minister, George

Tulpehocken and Mr. Justice Conrad Weisser being present to lend the support of their approval and sympathy. Meurer, however, soon returns to Tulpehocken, he and Nieke being thereafter for a time associated in the charge.

It appears that after the Vorsteher of the Tulpehocken church put an end to the turmoil and confusion occasioned by the intrusions of Stoever and his party, through the purchase of the property from the attorneys of Mr. Page,[27] the adherents of Stoever thus baffled had given up the strife and had built a house of worship for themselves at a distance of about two miles away.[28] Now, in order to prevent the recurrence of like scenes in the future, in April, 1744, the purchasers executed a deed of trust,[29]

Nieke, was sent hither from the congregation at Bethlehem, to serve the people here with the gospel and school-teaching. From that time on there was a division between the Lutherans and Reformed. Nieke preached only once in the church; the opposition party closed it against him. So those who held with Nieke were compelled to make use of Jacob Weller's house for their meetings and school. About that time Jacob Weller and Jacob Matthews went to Annapolis, to a gentleman known to them, Daniel Delaney, Esq. Before him they laid their trouble, how it had gone with their church; and he was thereby moved to give them—free, gratis—upon a freehold deed, ten acres of land for a church and school-house. And so, on the third of July, 1746, in presence of the people who had occupied it with the Brethren, this piece of land was surveyed for that purpose, and, accordingly to the prevailing custom, was named Delaney's Gift.

1748. About harvest-time their teacher, George Nieke, was recalled to Bethlehem, and in his place Bro. George Neisser was sent here."

Nieke was the third Moravian *Arbeiter* at Menekasy, Nyberg being the first and Herzer the second.

[27] The old Tulpehocken church was situated east of the present Stouchsburg, and was known as "Reed's (*i.e.* Rieth's) Church," finally Zion Lutheran Church.

[28] Stoever's party built Christ Church, between two and three miles west of "Reed's Church," in May, 1743.

[29] For as much as it appeareth by a legal Indenture, dated the 15th Day of May 1742 between John Page of Austin Freyers in London Gentleman, Wm. Allen of the City of Pliladelphia in the Province of Pensylvania Esqr. Wm. Webb of Chester County in the sd Province Esq. and Samuel Powell jun. of the said City of Philada. Merchant of the one part, and Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, George

certified to by Justice Weisser, whereby they declared that the land, church and school-house should be and remain in the service of the Lutheran congregation, now served by the representatives of the Brethren's Lutheran Consistory, mentioning Meurer by name as their pastor.

Loesch and Hermannus Walborn all of Tulpehocken in the County of Lancaster in the said Province of the other part, that a special Contract was made, at large set forth and specified in the abovementioned Indenture.

Know all men therefore by these presents, that though we the said Michael Schaeffer, Frederick Schaeffer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth, George Loesch, and Hermannus Wallborn have purchased the said Land in our own Names and to our Heirs according to the Custom of the Country yet notwithstanding we were all together before unanimously agreed, that it should be for the Use of the poor and for a burying Ground for the Evangelick Lutheran Church, namely that very Church, whereof the Revd. Mr. John Philip Meurer is at present Minister, and Hermannus Wallborn and Caspar Rieth legaly elected Wardens We accordingly hereby declare publickly, that we purchas'd the abovesaid Land as Trustees for the aforesaid Church, and do hereby renounce any Right or Property therein for us and our Heirs, that is to say, I Michael Schaeffer do renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs, I Frederich Schaeffer renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs, I Leonhard Rieth renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs, I Michael Rieth renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs, I George Loesch renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs, I Hermannus Wallborn renounce all Right and Title for me and my Heirs; We jointly and severally as aforesaid resign the same to the abovesaid Church. We hereby also promise and bind ourselves and our Heirs, that if at any Time any legally appointed Gentleman learned in the Law, shall find any Fault or failing in this present Declaration each and every one of us and our Heirs will give such further Assurance as shall be thought necessary by such person learned in the Law, but at the proper Expense of the said Church.

In Testimony whereof we set our Hands and Seals.
So transacted the 5th April 1743.

Signed sealed and delivered by
Michael Schaeffer, Fredrich Schaffer, Leonhard Rieth, Michael Rieth and Hermannus Wallborn in our Presence
Johann Christoph Pyrlaeus Conrad Weisser, one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Lancaster.

MICHAEL SCHAEFFER, [L.S.]
FREDRICH SCHAEFFER, [L.S.]
LEONHARD RIETH, [L.S.]
MICHAEL RIETH. [L.S.]
GEORGE LOSCH, [L.S.]
HERMANNUS WALBORN, [L.S.]

Sign'd seal'd and delivered by George Loesch in our Presence
JOHN GEORGE HARDTEN
JOHN ZERBE.

Whilst Stoever's bold maiden had been busy contriving a door where the architect of the log church had designed no door to be, and since that day, the tooth of time had diligently been gnawing at beam and board and shingle. It does not surprise us therefore to read, "And forasmuch as the aforesaid church being a Log-House and in ruinous Circumstances the aforesaid Congregation unanimously resolved to build a new Church on the aforesaid Land." Prompt and effectual measures are taken. Peter Krieger, a member of the congregation and a mason withal, shall be *Mauermeister*, do the actual master-workman's duty of erection, whilst Michael Rieth and Michael Shäffer, men of experience both of them and alike born in the home-land well-nigh half a century ago, shall be the building committee. Bishop Spangenberg, who six days previously has just organized the congregation at Heidelberg near by, comes to lay the corner-stone with due formality. The quaint document[30] deposited within suf-

[30] The following is a transcript of the paper deposited in the corner-stone:

In Nomine Patris Jesu Christi Dei Ecclesiae,

In Nomine Christi, omnium Hominum et universi Conditoris et Restitutoris, Dei et Domini, Sponsi Ecclesiae,

In Nomine Spiritus, Ecclesiae Matris, et omnium Spirituum Numinis Supremi,

Feliciter Regnante Georgio secundo, Magnae Britanniae Rege, Patriae Patre, Pensilvaniam tenentibus, eaque magna Clementia utentibus, magni Wilhelmi Penn Nepotibus,

Provinciam hanc sapienter gubernante illustri Georgio Thoma,

Pastoribus Ecclesiae Lutheranae circa Tulpehockin Philipo Mäurero, et Georgio Nicke,

Præsente Josepho, ex comissis Episcoporum in Ecclesiis Fratrum,

Curatoribus Ecclesiae Casparo Rieth et Hermano Wallborn,

Kal. Apr. anni millessimi septingentessimi quadragessimi quinti post natum Christum,

Fundamenta Ædium harum sacrarum jacta sunt.

Faxit Deus noster clementissime
Ut Gloriae Divinae et hominum saluti iisdem serviatur
Usque ad Monarchiam Jesu Christi sempiternam,
Ex cujus vulneribus omnis nostra salus pendet
Et cujus sanguinem in cœlo prædicabimus
Postquam orbis universus igne consumatus fuerit.

ficiently sets forth the peculiar two-fold position in which Spangenberg believed himself to be standing—a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum and at the same time a Lutheran divine.

In June Nieke's connection with Tulpehocken ceases, and Meurer is left in sole charge. Throughout the months of sowing and harvesting work is busily advanced at the new church, built of free-stone. The fair Indian Summer sees its completion. About two hundred persons participate in the festive and solemn consecration, on December 1. Abraham Reinke delivers a brief address on Rev. 1 : 13. Spangenberg offers the prayer of dedication and preaches a discourse. Meurer follows with closing words. Then he and Reinke distribute the elements, as the Holy Communion crowns the happy solemnities of the memorable day. Incidentally we are told that the participants come forward in Lutheran fashion, the distinctively Moravian ritual not being employed.

Meurer's pastorate finally ceases on March 6, 1746. He removes to Donegal. It had not been wholly a bed of roses for the good brother. The aggressive attempts of Kraft[31] and Stoever[32] and public disputations on the doc-

[31] Valentine Kraft, who had come to America after having been dismissed from his charge in Zweibrücken, had made an attempt to found a consistory in 1742, previous to Mühlenberg's coming, but was discredited by the latter. He formed a third party in the Confusion at Tulpehocken by gathering about him certain of the adherents of Stoever, people who claimed rights in Christ Church. Later he and Stoever joined forces against Mühlenberg and his ministerial associates.

[32] Good Brother Meurer's annoyances by reason of discussions forced upon him by these men may be judged to have been very trying from a report of his sent to Philadelphia in November 1742, and printed in Vol. 2 of the *Büdingische Sammlungen* (pp. 832 and foll.). We translate the following extract as bearing upon the narrative of the "Confusion": "On the $\frac{8}{14}$th the aged Lutheran Pastor Krafft preached in the Reformed Church, and once more installed Stiefer after his congregation had obligated them-

trine of sanctification with Pastor Tobias Wagner,[33] held in 1744, must have served to give more than that variety

selves for another year, and said that Stiefer would reform, having made this promise to him; that he desired the forgiveness of all whom he had injured or opposed, and acknowledged that he had done wrong. In the evening the old Pastor came with Caspar Stiefer and one of his Church officers to Michal Rieth as one of my Church officers, to seek to mediate between both parties, mine and that of Stiefer, that they might once more be united. But Michael Rieth as my churchwarden in the presence of Stiefer declared to the old Pastor all the tricks and evil deeds said to have been performed by Stiefer, and said that they would have nothing more to do with him, that they had heard enough of his disgraceful abuses, and how he had set the people in strife. And telling one thing after another, he said to Stiefer, "Is it not true, did you not do so and so?" He had to admit and assent to everything; and Stiefer's churchwarden, testified that it had been so. At last Michael Rieth, as my churchwarden said that there were so many affairs, that it would not be possible to tell them all. He might read them in print. With that he handed the printed "*Confusion from Tulpehocken*" to the old Pastor Krafft. There he might read it all. Then Stiefer broke in and said he wished to have it read aloud. And the whole printed account was read. He assented to all except the following points: First, that Caspar Leitbecher had been ordained in London. He said, it was not true. Michael Rieth replied: "So we heard," and called on Balthasar Anspach, Stiefer's churchwarden, to testify, who also said "So we heard." In the second place, Stiefer denied that he had been ordained in the tavern at the Trappe. Stiefer said, it had taken place in the barn. In the third place he declared that when he had the hole cut in the side of the church, he had not entered it the same hour, but next day. In the fourth place, that it was not true that he had left the church with abusive language when Mr. Webb tried to make peace. Michael Reith however appealed to Balthasar Anspach, Stiefer's own churchwarden to corroborate the account in every point, and he declared with reference to it all, that such was his understanding of the affair. After several hours of interview the old Pastor desired to know when he might obtain an opportunity to speak with me. My churchwarden, Michael Rieth, said that if he desired it, he would let me know.

Next morning two hours before daylight Michael Rieth came to me (since the old Pastor and Stiefer wished to set out for Canistoca (Conestoga) at ten o'clock) and asked me if I would come to the old Pastor. I said, I had no objection." [Meurer took to this interview his various church officers as witnessss, Michael Rieth, Caspar Rieth, Leonard Rieth, Hermanus Wallborn and George Lösch. The interview lasted more than three hours, but as might have been expected no agreement was reached, when Kraft and Stoever made demands upon the church-property.]

[33] Mühlenberg who was invited to Tulpehocken in 1743, introduced as pastor of "Christ Church" the Rev. Tobias Wagner, great-grandson of the theologian Tobias Wagner who had been Chancellor of the University of

which is considered the spice of life, to the remote hamlet on the Indian frontier of the Colony, in a day when men could scarcely differ on religious questions and refrain from regarding such disagreement as a sufficient reason for personal animosity.

Now followed an interval of several months, during which the Tulpehocken people were left pastorless, an unfortunate state of affairs under any circumstances, and especially so where elements calculated to promote dissention were not wanting. The memory of the former confusion was too recent, not to speak of the strained relations known to exist between the Brethren and their German co-religionists elsewhere, to forbid anything else than the awakening of grave fears, should this vacancy be much further prolonged. The reply of Christopher Pyrlæus,[34] in the name of the authorities at Bethlehem, to the two Vorsteher of the congregation, under date of June 19, fully recognizes the evils of delay. He accordingly proposes to them as their future pastor John Brucker,[35] who has served as missionary amongst the negroes of St. Thomas for three years, and who came to Bethlehem during the previous year, where he has since

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Tübingen in 1680. This assistant of Mühlenberg arrived in Pennsylvania in 1743, via Maine. His sermonizing proved unattractive, and his people declared their inability to support him. In 1745 he became pastor of Mosellen Church, in Berks Co. It was on April 22 of this year that he united Mühlenberg in marriage with Anna Maria Weisser, Conrad Weisser's daughter. At Easter 1746 he removed to the vicinity of Reading. In 1748 he found a home at Earltown (New Holland) and in 1751 at Lancaster. Returning to Germany in 1759, he died there in 1775.

[34] Pyrlaeus. See Vol. IV, of the Transactions, p. 173.

[35] John Brucker came to Pennsylvania with the first sea congregation in 1742. From 1743–1745 missionary on St. Thomas, Danish West Indies, having been ordained by Zinzendorf at New York in January 1743. In 1746, pastor at Tulpehocken. From 1754 to 1764, the first resident missionary on St. Jan, Danish West Indies. More than 300 negroes were baptized during the ten years of his labors there. In 1764 he went to St. Thomas to recruit intending to return to America, but there being a lack of missionaries on St. Croix, went thither instead to assist, and died there next year, Nov. 8.

been employed as a teacher in the school. He warns them, indeed, that Brucker's services cannot be guaranteed for any definite length of time, since he may be called away on short notice, if it is perceived that he can be more useful elsewhere. And he further stipulates that in the conduct of the school the new pastor shall have a free hand, save that the Vorsteher shall serve as a school-board and formulate the rules according to which it is to be managed. Preliminaries are satisfactorily arranged, and Brucker comes.

But trouble was in store. At the Synod held in Bethlehem on January 27, 1747, Brucker reports that the church services and the school were poorly attended. One of the two wardens of the congregation, Herman Wallborn, has recently died. The election of his successor may involve disagreements. Further, another Lutheran minister, Kurtz[36] by name, an adherent of the Hallensian party, has put in an appearance, with the seeming intention of stirring up schism. Now schism the Brethren desire to avoid at any price. Therefore it is resolved to return Brucker for a short time only. After his removal those of the Tulpehocken people who really desire to be identified with the Brethren, as did Wallborn—witness his naming in his will Spangenberg and Antes as the guardians of his children, and desiring that they be brought up in the Church—may find a welcome at the services of the neighboring congregation of Heidelberg.

In February the trouble is intensified. Leonard Rieth, a member of the congregation dying, Kurtz is called in to keep his funeral. The church-warden, Caspar Rieth, who has charge of the key and the church-books, refuses

[36] John Nicholas Kurtz was one of the catechists sent by the fathers at Halle to assist Mühlenberg, and was welcomed by him in Pennsylvania on Jan. 26, 1745. As a catechist he served at Tulpehocken, Northkill and Lancaster. From 1748 to 1769 he served as pastor of "Christ Church" at Tulpehocken; from 1769 to his death in 1794 pastor at York, Pa.

the use of the church for this purpose, suspecting some ulterior design. The sermon is accordingly preached in the open air, at the grave. Party spirit runs high. George Lösch[37] is elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Wallborn. But one of the trustees, Frederick Schäffer, now sided with Kurtz, who denounced the Brethren as no true Lutherans, and therefore not entitled to serve the congregation in any capacity. Brucker resigned and withdrew. In his absence Frederick Schäffer and his associates, having consulted with Justice Weisser, now the father-in-law of Mühlenberg, broke into the school-house, and taking possession, leased it to a tenant for 5 shillings per annum. Without having as yet seized the church, they appointed a set of trustees for themselves and declared their intention of making a forcible entry if not soon surrendered.

On March 17, Spangenberg, Christian Henry Rauch and Meurer, who have betaken themselves to Tulpehocken in the interests of this miserable affair, hold a consultation with the old Board of Trustees. Rules are agreed to respecting the occasions when and for whom the church shall be opened.[38] And so the matter stands. The place is pastorless, though Leonhard Schnell[39] does occasional ministerial service during the Summer.

In September, when the Synod meets at Bethlehem, Caspar Rieth and George Lösch and Michael Schäffer are present from Tulpehocken. It is decided not to station any Brother there. Neubert,[40] of Warwick, who is

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[37] George Lösch was born at Germsheim, near Worms, in 1699. Emigrated to Schoharie in 1710. Removed to Tulpehocken, 1723. Removed to Gnadenthal 1767. Died at Nazareth 1790.

[38] This agreement bears the following signatures: Joseph Spangenberg, Christian Rauch, Caspar Rieth, Michaël Schæffer, Michaël Rieth, Görg Lœsch, Jacob Schäffer, Peter + Schäffer, Johan Georg Schiffler.
his mark.

[39] Leonhard Schnell. See Vol. 4 of the Transactions, p. 169.

[40] Daniel Neubert: see Vol. 4 of the Transactions, p. 173.

also in charge of Heidelberg, will keep occasional services in the vacant church.

At the Synod of Quitopahilla, January 21–24, 1748, Old Style, nine brethren and two sisters are present from Tulpehocken. It appears that Conrad Weisser has interfered at Muddy Creek, as well as at Tulpehocken. A formal report or brief of the Tulpehocken case is laid before the Synod. A letter from Caspar Rieth is presented, under date of January 21, requesting that a minister be stationed. Michael Schäffer offers a home, in case a Brother is appointed, for church and school have now been taken from the people who are affiliated with the Moravians. The reply is that no one suitable can at present be found.

When the Synod next meets, at Bethlehem, from June 2 to 5, 1748, Old Style, George Lösch reports that the opposite party, and especially Frederick Schäffer, demand the deed of the church, saying that if it is not surrendered they will go to law. What does the Synod advise? He further asks for the continuance of the labors of Abraham Büninger,[41] who seems to have been sent in the interval in accordance with the proposal of Michael Schäffer. The Synod declines to defend the possession of the property, since it is contrary to the principles of the Moravian Church to have recourse to the law, though the Brethren believe they have right on their side. Büninger's labors shall be continued; he may keep school, and board around by turns among the families who benefit from his services.

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[41] Abraham Büninger (Bühninger, Bininger) born at Bulach, Canton Zürich, 1720, came to Bethlehem, Pa., from Purysburg, Beaufort Co., South Carolina, in February, 1742. Having served in the West Indies and at Tulpehocken, he itinerated in York Co., Pa., and succeeded Bruce at Pachgatgoch in 1749. From 1753–1755, he served at Meniolagomeka. He retired to Camden Valley, Washington Co., New York, in 1770, and died there in March, 1811.

This year, 1748, with the visit of Bishop John de Watteville, and the introduction of the festival of the thirteenth of November, saw the end of the efforts for an evangelical alliance amongst the German Protestants of Pennsylvania, and the distinctive establishment of the Brethren's Church as a denomination in the Colony. For those who during the preceding years had been vaguely identified with the Brethren, the test of final and complete adherence was participation in the celebration of the Lord's Supper in connection with the recognition of the Chief Eldership of the Lord Jesus over the Church. No mention occurs of such a celebration at Tulpehocken. Hence it is evident that the congregation there, as such, now ceased to be considered as standing in any special relationship to the Brethren's Unity. Individual members from Tulpehocken however participated in the festival when celebrated at Heidelberg on November 24, 1748.[42]

No representative of theirs was present at the Synod held in Bethlehem on January 15, 1749, Old Style. But the Synod resolved that the work at Tulpehocken should continue to be prosecuted on the present basis—by whom we do not know; no longer by Büninger, for he reports at this time from York. Possibly the Höpfners[43] were now caring for the remnant which adhered to the Moravian Church, for at the Synod in Philadelphia, in August, they are said to have remained at Tulpehocken till May, when they returned to Bethlehem, since which time the

[42] The following members of the Tulpehocken congregation were received as members of the Moravian Church at this time of final division: George Lösch and wife, Michael Schäfer and wife, Caspar Rieth and wife, Michael Rieth and wife, and the widow Wallborn.

[43] John C. Höpfner was one of the Wetteravian division of the Second Sea Congregation, and was chosen one of the committee in charge during the voyage. Of the experiences of the voyagers he preserved an account in his journal.

itinerants and the pastors of neighboring congregations have rendered occasional services. The Neuberts, now of Heidelberg, are directed to make pastoral visits thither whenever these are desired.

At the largely attended Synod of Warwick (Lititz) from November 9 to 12, Old Style, George Lösch and his son Balthasar, with Caspar Rieth and Christopher Weisser are present; but, so far as we have been able to discover, no mention is made of Tulpehocken. Apparently it ceases from this time to be considered as a unit in the work of the Church, the few members whose attachment still survives being regarded as members of the Heidelberg charge. Some, like George Lösch, perhaps remove to more stirring centers of Moravian activity. And thus the "Confusion of Tulpehocken" reaches a placid if somewhat melancholy end.

Sketch of The Report

TO BE LAID BEFORE THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

BY THE

PRESIDENT AND DIRECTORS

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL
AMONG THE HEATHEN.

PREFATORY.

A sad commentary is it, indeed, upon the attitude of the Government of the United States towards the aboriginal occupants of this country, that the subjoined memorial should ever have been called forth—a summary, although written in the interests of humanity and in defense of the cause of the work of Christ and the unselfish labors of the Moravian Missionaries, yet from the very nature of impelling circumstances, breathing a spirit of apologetic recital.

As is mentioned in the introductory paragraph of the venerable John Heckewelder's sketch, he had compiled the account for the Society of the United Brethren for the propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the United States Senate on Feb. 22d., 1822, the particulars whereof are set forth in the following abstract of the proceedings of the Senate as published in "The History of Congress."

"The following resolutions, moved on Feb. 20, by Mr. Benton of Missouri, were considered and adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to lay before the Senate a copy of the patent (if any such there be in the Treasury Department) which issued under an act of Congress of June 1, 1796, conveying to the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, three tracts of land of 4000 acres, to include the towns of Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn and Salem, on the Muskingum, in the state of Ohio, in trust to said Society, for the sole use of the Christian Indians formerly settled there.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be requested to collect and communicate to the Senate, at the commencement of the next session of Congress, the best information which he may be able to obtain relative to the said Christian Indians and the lands intended for their benefit, in the above mentioned grant; showing as correctly as possible, the advance or decline of said Indians in numbers, morals and intellectual endowments; whether the said lands have enured to their benefit, and if not, to whom, in whole or in part, have such benefits accrued.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate furnish a copy of the above resolutions to the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, addressed to the President of the Society, at Bethlehem, in Northampton County, in the state of Pennsylvania."

Mr. Benton undertook to show by a dry detail of historical facts, the propriety of adopting them. He refers to the first labors of Spangenberg and others among the Creek Indians in the Colony of Georgia and their subsequent entrance into the Colony of Connecticut, being invited thither, as reports say, by the Indians themselves.

Mr. Benton would not undertake to gainsay the alleged fact of the invitation, nor was it material to the point in hand; but he could say that such an invitation implied a contradiction of every spring of human action, there being no principle in the breast of man, whether civilized or barbarian, which can impel him to invite another to make an attack upon the articles of his faith and the sanctity of his God. Be that as it may, said Mr. Benton, history goes on to show that the converted Indians increased in number and in grace until they became an example to the people of Connecticut.

Continuing to increase in numbers and to widen their theatre, the Brethren appeared in Pennsylvania among the Delawares and Shawnese, then in great numbers along the Susquehanna river and in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. He mentioned Nain, Bethlehem, Shamo-

kin, Nazareth and other places as founded at this time[1] and filled with converted Indians and passed on to the Muskingum, in Ohio, where the van-guard of the Brethren arrived, about the year 1770.

Here they founded the towns of Gnadenhütten, New Salem and Schönbrunn and were, according to the historian, proceeding with their usual success, when the settlements were broken up and themselves dispersed by the troubles of the Revolutionary War. It was not until after the return of peace, in 1783, that they could return to their labors, and about this time they began to attract the notice of the American Government and to receive from it promises of aid, in consideration of their great success in teaching and converting the Indians. The Brethren, Mr. Benton went on to say, now were full of confidence and courage; the schools and churches flourished and the converts in the whole amounted to 1500 persons.

Mr. Benton said, it was to these Indians that the resolution referred; it was for their use that the 12000 acres of land had been granted, and it was their numbers and actual condition which he wished to learn; it was to the Society that this land was granted in trust for the sole use of the Christian Indians of the times he had mentioned. He said that the grant conveyed nothing but the use of the land and that upon a precise limitation. If the use had failed, the limitation had attached and the ground returned to the grantor. He said it would have been idle in him to undertake to put the Senate on this inquiry without being able to *suggest* a failure of the use; he therefore made the suggestion without going into particulars.[2]

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[1] With reckless disregard as to chronological facts, although professing to quote from Loskiel's History.

[2] The concluding sentences of Mr. Benton's address (not given here, being too lengthy and not pertinent to the matter in hand) unveiled the

That this discussion in Congress precipitated the retrocession of the lands to the National Government is very likely; although, as the following excerpts from a sketch of the history of the Society[3] show, the Society had for some time been desirous of relinquishing its trust.

It had become evident that the Society had made a sad mistake in assuming the trusteeship of the Ohio Reservation; and that the idea of carrying on an extensive and successful missionary work in the Muskingum Valley, which was rapidly filling up with white people, was no less a mistake. Instead of increasing the income of the Society, the land was a constant drain upon its resources. In 1812 the outlook became so discouraging, that a special meeting of the Society took place, in order to consider ways and means for bringing about a better state of affairs; but the plans which were adopted proved impracticable. Hence the idea began to be broached that the Reservation ought to be given back to the Government. This idea was especially urged at the General Meeting of the Society of 1822, by Lewis David de Schweinitz who had been called to Bethlehem as Ad-

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real object which this speech had in view, viz.: to expose the visionary project of a vast Society for the conversion of the Indians announced in Washington papers, the list embracing, as Mr. Benton declared, all Presidents and ex-Presidents, Secretaries of State, War, Navy and Treasury, Judges, Governors, Generals, Commodores, Preachers and School-masters and all members, present and to come of both houses of Congress of the United States. He had found his name on the list, certainly without his knowledge and equally certain without his approbation.

He had therefore made this exposition of his sentiments to show that he did not countenance the view of this Society, as he could hold it as being but little short of an abuse to attempt, at this day, with the experience of three hundred years before our eyes, to raise money from the weak and credulous for the purpose of converting the Indians.

The speech seemed to have the desired effect and the Society expired in its birth.

[3] A Historical sketch of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, by the Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, 1888.

ministrator of the Unity's estates, and member of the Provincial Board, in 1821.

After having reported that the Society had spent upon the tract of land in the Muskingum Valley, over and above all receipts from the same, $14,000, and that, with the expenses of the Mission added, the amount would reach $32,000, he offered a resolution, that "The President and Directors make application to Congress in order to procure a discharge from the burdensome trust imposed upon the Society by the terms of the grant of the lands on the Muskingum." This resolution was unanimously adopted.

They sent to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, a number of documents including a detailed account of the receipts from the Reservation and the expenses which it had caused.

Both the Secretary and President Monroe declared themselves as satisfied, and on the 9th of December, the latter transmitted the papers to the Senate, which ordered them to be printed. In the early part of January of the next year, Lewis David de Schweinitz proceeded to Washington as the representative of the Society. By personal interviews with many senators, and especially by a conversation with Col. Benton himself, he succeeded in removing all prejudices from their minds. As soon as this had been accomplished he presented a petition, praying that the Society should be divested of its trust. Many delays took place, but at last the President was authorized to adopt the necessary measures for the retrocession of the land. He appointed Gen. Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory of Michigan, as the representative of the United States, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel commissioned Lewis David de Schweinitz as its representative. They met at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, and on the 4th of August concluded a

treaty according to which the tract on the Muskingum River was to be returned to the United States, which, out of the first proceeds of the sale of the land, promised to pay to the Society, $6,654.25, the amount at which the tract was booked, always provided the Christian Indians should agree to these conditions. Hence a treaty was held with them on the 8th of November, at which they ratified what had been done by Cass and de Schweinitz. In lieu of the land, the United States promised them an annuity of $400; or if they preferred removing to some other part of its domain, a new grant of 24,000 acres. On the first of April, 1824, the deed of retrocession was executed.

SKETCH OF THE REPORT TO BE LAID BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE PRESIDENT & DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN.

To the President & Directors of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, the following summary of facts, drawn up from personal knowledge, is respectfully submitted, both for their own information, & also that they may lay the same, or as much thereof as they may deem proper, before the President of the United States, to meet the Resolutions passed in the Senate of the United States on the 22nd of February last, of which due notice has been given to them & to the undersigned by the proper authority; to the latter, however, with a particular request that he furnish "all the information in his power upon the several points embraced in the latter Resolution."

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

BETHLEHEM, June, 1822.

This summary of facts, events, occurrences and transactions, faithfully drawn up by the undersigned, will, it is supposed, the more amply meet the objects which induced the Senate of the United States to pass the Resolutions of the 22nd of February last, relative to the Christian Indians under the care of the United Brethren, inasmuch as it exhibits the state and condition of those Indians & their moral and intellectual endowments from

the time of the first Christian Indian establishment down to the present, the changes that have taken place & the causes of such changes, and likewise the cause of their emigration to the West and of their settling on the Muskingum, &c.

The first Christian Indian settlement in Pennsylvania under the care of the United Brethren was made in 1742 by emigrants, both Mohicans & Wampanos, from New England and the then Province of New York, who settled on Mahony creek, about twenty seven miles to the northwest of Bethlehem, on lands which the Brethren had bought for the purpose. But as the spot on which they first settled did not suit them, the soil being of a stiff, clayey nature, the Brethren who had begun to build houses on the north-east side of the River Lehigh where the land was sandy, exchanged with them, so that the Indians had the lands that were easier to work, while the Brethren being provided with ploughs took those that were not so readily cultivated. These two settlements were but half a mile apart, yet separated by the river & a ridge on its south-west side. The Indians called their village Gnadenhütten, & their ministers & school-masters lived with them. At the other place, which retained its original Indian name Mahony, (which signifies a Deer-lick) the Brethren built mills, cultivated the land, & established the more needful industries, not only for their own profit, but also to teach the Indians the arts of husbandry & to instruct such of their young people as might desire it, in various useful branches of industry.

On my arrival from Europe in the year 1754, two young single Indian men named Joachim & Nathan were living in the single men's house at Bethlehem, having been placed there in order to receive a school education and religious instruction. There were also four young Indian women living in the single-women's house in order

to be trained in the occupations that females engaged in. They were Martha, Mary, Christina and Gawshes, all of the Mohican tribe. Both the young men made such progress within a few years that they could be useful to their countrymen; and of the four young women, Martha, who had been put to the mantua-making business, became so proficient that she was made mistress, & for a number of years had the superintendence of all the hands engaged in that line of business; while the other three became good sewers, knitters, spinsters &c., and also learnt to dress flax. Martha died at Lititz near Lancaster after living between thirty & forty years in the single women's house here & at that place. Christina was among the slain on the Muskingum in 1782. All the others became useful members of the Society and died happy, Joachim at the age of about seventy years.

In November, 1755, the white settlement having been destroyed by the French Indians, the whole Indian congregation at Gnadenhütten fled to Bethlehem for protection, being sensible that they were in peril of their lives, not only at the hands of the Indians who were in league with the French, but also of enraged white people. They were well received by the Brethren, & directed to build themselves temporary dwellings on the opposite side of the Menakes creek, near the mills, dye-houses & tan-yards, where I had the pleasure of seeing them for the first time. These Indians were then recognized by all sensible and impartial men who had been led by curiosity to come to Bethlehem for the purpose of seeing them, as "an orderly, civil and industrious people, better deserving the name of Christians than many of the whites." They had already in a great measure become husbandmen, since those who had strength and ability devoted their time to manual labor at home, & when they had no work there, they would join the Brethren in their

labors in the field or barn; while their aged men would make wooden bowls & ladles, & barn & grain shovels for millers; & their women, brooms, sieves &c., for all which they found a ready market, as the storekeepers took all that was not wanted by the country people, in exchange for wearing apparel or any other article they needed, sending these manufactured articles in wagons to Brunswick and New York, where they found a ready sale.

While this division of the Christian Indians, who were all of the Mohican tribe, resided at Bethlehem, it was a pleasing sight to behold this Indian congregation occasionally, & especially on Sabbath days, attending divine service in the chapel together with the white congregation. The same was the case with the other division, consisting of Delawares & Monseys, who had been stationed at Gnadenthal, near Nazareth, at which latter place divine service was performed on the same day.

The Indians settled at Bethlehem being very desirous of living on a tract of land by themselves, where they could have the advantage of keeping a small stock of cattle &c., the Brethren willingly granted them permission to move to a convenient spot on their land, a little more than a mile from Bethlehem, which place was afterwards called Nain. The village formed a large square, with buildings on three sides, the south side being left open for the convenience of fetching water from the fine spring run which flowed by. The place was kept neat and clean. There was a well in the middle of the square. The houses, built of squared timbers, & roofed with shingles, had fine gardens, enclosed with good paling fences in the rear. Their fields were kept in the best condition. Besides their public buildings, the school and meeting house, they erected a convenient dwelling for poor widows whom they supported.

For the division of Christian Indians who settled at Gnadenthal during the war, the brethren bought a partly cultivated tract of land called Wequetank, on the north side of the Blue Mountains, about twenty five miles from Bethlehem, where they built themselves a village, & were supplied with a minister & a schoolmaster. These Indians, although not so far advanced in husbandry as the former, who had been the first converts, were not inferior to them as to their moral character.

Scarcely had the Christian Indians lived peacefully & happily for five years at these two places, when another Indian war broke out which occasioned the abandonment of both settlements. The same persecuting spirit which seized the minds of a certain class of people in Dauphin County, who in their frenzy murdered the Conestoga Indians, incited a like class in Northampton County to commit similar acts on the Christian Indians near them, which caused the evacuation of their villages & their speedy removal to Philadelphia for protection under the Government.

It is strange what an effect bigotry can have on the minds of men! While some persons who lived at a distance from these Indians decried them as thieves, savages and barbarians, the whites who lived in their immediate neighborhood deplored their departure, declaring them to be an upright, honest & moral people, and good Christians. But be this as it may, it is certain that during the whole of their stay in this part of the country, a period of twenty years, not a single complaint was brought against them or against any one of them for any crime that would come under the cognizance of a magistrate and been punishable by law. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the docket of the magistrate who officiated during that period, which is still in existence in custody of his son, the venerable John Horsfield Esq., now himself upwards of seventy years of age.

The case of Renatus, who was tried for murder and acquitted, (as related by Loskiel, and which may be seen in my narrative of the Missions at page 89,) did not in the least tend to diminish or destroy the good character these Indians bore among all upright and impartial men. Their character rather stood higher afterwards than before, since it became manifest that persons who entertained a feeling of hatred against Indians in general, propagated many falsehoods against those who lived near them.

On their return to Nain, after a detention of seventeen months at Philadelphia on account of the war, they found their possessions in good condition, as the Brethren had, immediately after their departure, placed a family there to take care of their effects. Their cattle had been sold at their request, & they received the money; and as they were obliged to remove to the Indian country (for reasons already set forth by historians) the brethren gave them permission to sell their houses & such other things as were too bulky to be transported. Several of their houses were purchased by the Steward of Bethlehem, for the use of future tenants. Others were purchased by individuals and removed to Bethlehem, in which place there are at the present time six which serve as dwelling houses, besides other smaller buildings which are used as stables &c. All their plow-irons, farming utensils & tools they took with them.

Scarcely had these Indians, together with those who had lived at Wequetank, arrived at Wyalusing on the Susquehannah, when their plows were again turning up the rich prairie ground they found there. They were able to make their own plows, harrows &c., and to do any ordinary carpenter's or cooper's work with dispatch. A village was speedily built, & by the time they were compelled to leave the place—in 1772, just eight years after their arrival there—their settlement & improvements afforded a

beautiful prospect to the eye, indicating that its inhabitants must be an orderly and industrious people. During their stay I was at the place four times. I assisted them at the founding of the settlement, & visited them the year before they removed from it. They were very unwilling to go, but the Six Nations had sold that whole country, including the lands they occupied, to the English.

Such was their situation when they received, by the Indian Preacher Wangomend, a message from the great Delaware Council on the Muskingum, inviting them to come to them, & promising to give them land enough to maintain themselves & their cattle. The Council, hearing that their message had been received by the Christian Indians with indifference, sent one of their head chiefs, Killbuck Sr., to them with a renewal of the same offer, & an assurance that they were in earnest, & that they would not only give them as much land as they wanted, but that what they would give them should remain their property and & never be taken from them as long as the sun should shine or the rivers flow with water; that they would not serve them as the Mingoes had done, when they sold the land under their feet, & that no nation whatever should be suffered to deprive them of the land they offered them. Still these Indians could not decide to leave a place on which they had expended so much labor, & where, if they could remain, their prospects for the future were so bright. They therefore couched their answer to this second invitation in such terms as to leave the great Council in suspense as to their acceptance. They told the chief to "look well on their improvements, and tell the great Council what he had seen."

The Council honestly desired the welfare of Christian Indians, who were their kindred, and since the latter appeared to doubt their sincerity, a messenger was next

sent by the Council to the missionary Zeisberger, then residing with his congregation on Big Beaver, requesting him to use his influence to bring their relatives, the Christian Indians on the Susquehannah, to accept their offer, & convince them that it was made in all sincerity. Zeisberger acceded to their request, & penned a letter to the Susquehannah Indians, which he sent to the Directors of the Society at Bethlehem to be forwarded to them. One of these, accompanied by two of the Directors of the Unity from Europe, who happened to be here at the time, forthwith repaired to Wyalusing to enforce Zeisberger's appeal, & were so far successful as to be able to forward to the latter, for transmission to the great Council a reply as follows: "that they thanked them for their kind offer, & would give it due consideration, which required time, they being at present too heavy to rise; yet that, should any of their number who were not so heavy feel an inclination to proceed immediately, they should be at full liberty to do so."

As the directors of the Society, in conjuction with the Christian Indians, had already, previous to the reception of the invitations of the great Council, laid their grievances before the Governor of Pennsylvania, with a prayer that he would see justice done them & secure them in the possession of their lands which the Six Nations had sold, to which petition the Governor had returned a favorable answer, they could not well entertain the propositions of the great Delaware Council in the West until the result of this negotiation should be known. The expectations that were based on the Governor's reply were, however, not realized. He had assured them (see Loskiel, Part III, Chap. 3, page 41) that "as a quiet & peaceable people they should not be disturbed in their possessions, and that he had ordered the surveyors not to survey any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten

(Wyalusing), & that they therefore should consider all reports of taking away their land to be without foundation &c." Notwithstanding this promise they saw, to their mortification, that the surveyors were running lines not only within the limits named by the Governor, but even across their fields in sight of their village. They accordingly saw no other alternative than to comply with the offer made them by the great Council of the west, & move away from this favorite spot, & they were confirmed in this decision by the conduct of disorderly and immoral white people who were now settling near them & disturbed their peace, especially when they met in their chapel for divine service.

It was not to be wondered at that these Indians had become attached to their abode, where buildings, fields, gardens, fruit trees &c. were in such fine order as to be a delight to the eye. The very streets were kept clean. The situation of the ground being level, & the soil a mixture of sand and clay, they were regularly swept by the women with wooden brooms on Saturdays, in summer when the ground was dry, & the rubbish carefully removed. The cleanliness of the place was also promoted by a post & rail fence completely surrounding the village, so as to keep out the cattle. As idleness leads to poverty, beggarliness & immorality, so on the other hand does the ownership of property acquired by industry foster an attachment to the same from which flow care, cleanliness, order, economy & all the traits which characterize a civilized people. The Christian Indians had already exhibited these traits when they were settled in Northampton County. Morality had become habitual to them, & the better their opportunities to put into action the mental endowments which had previously lain dormant within them, the greater were the advances they made therein.

On their arrival at the Muskingum in the year 1772 they were abundantly satisfied that what had been promised by the great Council of the nation would be fulfilled. The limits of the land set apart for them were particularly described, viz. to extend from the mouth of One-legged creek to the great bend of the river below Gakalmukpehing old town, a distance of about thirty miles on the river. Two small villages & several single families of Indians who were residing on the tract were removed, so that the Christian Indians could occupy it entirely. Strings & belts of wampum were given in token, & as lasting vouchers, of the grant, and the Wyandotts declared themselves witnesses to the act and deed. Two fine villages were soon built, which were called Schönbrunn and Gnadenhütten, the former being occupied by the Delawares, & the latter by the Mohicans; & in the course of time a third town named Salem was built on the same grant. Gnadenhütten & Salem occupied the very spots from which the great Council had removed the then settlers to make room for the Christian Indians.

These Christian Indians were in a flourishing condition at the commencement of the American Revolution. They were principally husbandmen. Hunting was with them no longer a primary object, for the great quantity of grain they raised, and the large stock of cattle they held, every family having more or less milch-cows, together with hogs in great number feeding in the woods & plenty of poultry at home, afforded them an abundant supply of provisions. But for the purpose of purchasing from the traders articles of clothing, kettles, pewter-ware, salt, tea, chocolate &c., they were obliged to hunt occasionally at the proper season. And as Congress, at the beginning of the war, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose, had, at a treaty held with the Indian

Nations, proclaimed to them that "all such as should sit still, whether nation or association or community belonging to a nation, and had not taken up the hatchet against them during the contest, should, if they became conquerors, have all the lands they held *confirmed & secured to them*, &c.," they saw no cause for relaxing either in their agricultural pursuits or in the enlargement of their improvements. They one and all declared that they would not take up arms against their American brethren nor against any other power, but would mind their business at home, to which declaration they faithfully adhered.

If it cannot be granted that a people, leading such lives as did these Christian Indians while they resided at the places mentioned in this summary, & up to the time when they were forcibly taken from their towns on the Muskingum, had a fair claim to the designation "civilized," then I am at a loss for a term that would better describe their condition. True, no courts of judicature were established among them, nor were any magistrates appointed, but there was no necessity for these in a community in which no disorderly person was permitted to dwell. Neither could a magistrate, if one had been stationed among them, have lived by the fees of his office, as no crimes were committed that would have come under his cognizance.

I have never felt free to publish all the encomiums that I have heard from time to time from reputable, judicious & impartial men after witnessing the condition of things at our Christian Indian towns on the Muskingum, but it seems proper here to recite several of them. In 1774, while two gentlemen (one of whom some years later became a distinguished American general) were conversing about what they had observed during a sojourn of a few days at Schönbrunn, one of them asked the other: "What comparison might be drawn between the hun-

dreds of white people among us, going under the name of Christians, & these people whom we call savages?" "Why Sir," replied the other, "we need only change characters & names,—call these Christians, & those savages,—for these are Christians in reality, while those are undeserving of the name they bear. So should I likewise have no hesitation in calling these a civilized people, & those uncivilized." When Col. George Morgan of Princeton in New Jersey, who had been appointed, by the Congress of the United States, Indian Agent for the Western District, visited the Indian towns on the Muskingum, he delivered himself to this effect after spending a few days there: "That he was astonished at what he had seen and witnessed at our three towns. That the improvements these Indians had made on their lands bespoke their industry, and that the cleanliness, order & regularity which were everywhere observable, together with their devotion, gave them a claim to be ranked among the civilized part of mankind. That they deserved to be set up as an example to many of the whites. That it was now evident to him that the Indians, when living by themselves & and out of connexion with white people, except such as gave them instruction and set them a good example, could easily be brought to a state of civilization and become good citizens of the United States, and that he considered our setting them a good example the surest, if not the only successful method of making converts, & bringing them from paganism, idleness & debauchery to a state of Christianity. That after being with us he could account for the Indians in New Jersey continuing to be such a miserable & depraved people,—that this was entirely owing to their connection with immoral whites." These people whose qualities excited the surprise & admiration of such visitors were those who, later on, were distressed & forcibly taken

from their habitations on the Muskingum by the enemy. And by that time their improvements had been much enlarged & enhanced in value, hence their loss was all the greater.

It was not to be expected that, after such disasters as befell the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, they would all bear their sufferings alike. Had their persecutions ended with the loss of their property, their feelings would have been very different from what they were six months later, when such a large number of their Christian kindred & friends were murdered. Some of them had come from Sandusky to their former habitations for the corn they had left behind them, & while there, all who were at the two lower towns were murdered. Only those at Schönbrunn escaped. Whereas previously all had suffered alike, & no lives were lost, now much of their best blood was spilt, & in some instances children lost their parents, parents their children, & others their nearest and dearest relatives.

We all know that the feelings & passions of men are not alike. While one is forgiving, another may be revengeful. Nor do all seek in the same manner to dispel grief & trouble from their minds. A change of mind may be effected in a moment, but this change is not the same in all persons. In some it may be for the better, and in others for the worse. And in case of those who, in their infancy lost their parents in so barbarous a manner, it is natural to suppose that, as they grow up, the mere recollection of their cruel fate might agitate their minds and even rouse their passions to such a degree as to desire forthwith to have revenge, & the more so when they are told by others that they ought to take it whenever opportunity might offer.

In such matters the Indian, who is as capable of reflection as the white man, is apt to reason in this way; "The

white people tell us that they possess the book in which the Word & Commandments of God are written, and in which God expressly forbids mankind to murder one another by the words *Thou shalt not kill.* These commandments are also proclaimed to us by white teachers; nay even our children read them to us out of their school-books.[4] Now how do the acts of the white people agree with their profession? They themselves do the very things which they tell us are forbidden of God. If murder is forbidden by God as they tell us, why do *they* do it? If it is not forbidden, why do they tell us it is? Can they change the commandment of God, so that their committing murder on us be no crime, but a great crime when an Indian kills a white man, etc."

Being once introduced by an Indian interpreter named Nicholson to a chief of the Six Nations as a Teacher of the Delawares, the chief replied: "Then I ought to consider him a good man, and if he really is such, he will set the Indians a good example by his own conduct, & not tell them that such & such things are forbidden by God, and yet do them himself, as many of the white people do. He will show them that, himself believing what is written of God & his commandments to be true, he abhors what is forbidden by Him, & strives to do His will & what is pleasing to Him. Such a teacher may do much good among my cousins, but one who acts contrariwise will do great mischief." After his remarks had been interpreted to me, he gave me his hand saying: "I rejoice to have an opportunity of seeing & shaking hands with you this day. Do all the good you can to my cousins" (the Delawares).

The Christian Indians, when they were left entirely to themselves at Upper Sandusky, their missionaries being

[4] See Zeisberger's Delaware Spelling-book, the first edition of which was printed in the year 1776, page 103.

taken from them & brought to Detroit, did not return to heathenism, but kept together as much as their circumstances would permit, admonishing one another to await the time when they might again be with their teachers. Two venerable old men, David & Joachim, dwelt together as hermits for some years until they found their way to the Indian congregation in Canada, where they both ended their days in peace. They had joined the congregation between the years 1740 and 1750. Only a few of all these Indians suffered in their morals, & these were led by their unbelieving relatives, who persuaded them that nothing would sooner drown the grief & trouble they felt from the loss of their murdered relatives than indulgence in strong drink, to form habits of intemperance.

Those who kept together until they could again join their ministers in Canada did not suffer visibly in their morals, and of these there were, in November, 1782, about fifty-three persons at the new settlement thirty miles north of Detroit, where they, together with those who joined them later, formed a fine congregation. They organized after the same manner and under the same rules and regulations as at their former settlements, and many gentlemen from Detroit, among whom was the Commandant, Major Ancrum, who visited their place, freely declared that their industry, order & cleanness surpassed their expectations, & far exceeded anything of the kind they had hitherto witnessed among Indians. When, four years later, they were again obliged to remove, the Chippewas desiring the land they had occupied for their own use, and were passing through the streets of Detroit to embark on a vessel for Cayuga, the merchants of the place hailed them with these words: "We are sorry to see such an industrious, orderly & honest people leave the country, yet we wish you well, and may God bless you!"

These Indians were not aware, when they crossed Lake Erie, that peace had not as yet been fully established between the Indians and the United States, and they soon found themselves again involved in difficulties. They were not permitted to settle where they pleased, but, on the contrary, were ordered to go back to Sandusky. This they refused to do, & went to Petquotting, from whence, however, they had to flee for protection to the north side of the lake, near the outlet of Detroit River, where they planted corn for the season, which was in the spring of 1790. Finding, after a stay of a year at this place, that it was impossible to remain longer both on account of their wicked & depraved white neighbors, & also on account of those Indians who were at open war with the United States & made their settlement a thoroughfare in going to & returning from Detroit, they applied to the British government for an asylum, & were at once directed to look for a place that would suit them on the Thames River, beyond the settlements of the whites. This they did, and the British Government later made them a grant of the land they selected, running six miles along the river, and more than that back towards the lake. This place they called Fairfield.

I had visited these Indians in 1789, when they still lived on Huron River, on the south side of Lake Erie, and when, in the employ of the United States, I went to Detroit with the Commissioners in 1793, I again visited them. They were then the same industrious people I had previously found them to be, and had fine crops of wheat and Indian corn in the ground, & were building barns to house it. But some of their immoral white neighbors were already trying to lead the weaker among them astray by offering them liquor for the work they did for them, instead of the money they had promised to pay. In the year 1798 I was again at their village, &

perceived, in the case of a few, a decline as to their morals. I was told by their missionary, Zeisberger, that this was altogether owing to their intercourse with debauched white neighbors, who imposed liquor upon them instead of money for their labor in helping them get in their harvest. The missionary was doubtful whether his congregation would be able to stay there much longer on that very account, & was glad that I had brought him an invitation to remove with a part of his people to the lands Congress had granted them on the Muskingum; & he accordingly did remove in the fall of that year with about thirty[5] souls to this tract, where they chose a spot near Schönbrunn for their village, which was afterwards called Goshen. They were soon joined by several families of Indians from near Sandusky, one of whom was Joseph White Eyes, second son of the late Captain White Eyes, with his family; another, Pemaholend, who had married the widow White Eyes; and a third, Gashatis, a man who was closely related to some of the Indians who had been murdered on the Muskingum, with his family. The first two families were justly entitled to share in the benefits arising from this grant.

Soon after these Indians had settled at Goshen, the Sandusky traders came on to traffic with them for their peltry, always bringing liquor with them for the purpose of making better bargains, or, in other words, cheating them. They would sometimes even bring a Sandusky Indian with them to entice their victims to drink. While these traders came from the West, others of the lowest class brought strong drink from the Ohio settlements to help them make good bargains.

[5] In the year 1800, this congregation consisted of sixty-five souls; but two families, those of Joshua and Thomas, all of the old stock, moved with missionaries to White River, in order to begin a new mission station there, while several other families, also of the original stock, being disappointed in their expectations, returned to Upper Canada.

The missionaries, dreading the consequences of such proceedings, applied to me as Agent of the Society to join with them in a petition to the legislature of the State, praying for the passage of a law that should prohibit the bringing of any liquor into the Schönbrunn tract, and in the winter of 1799–1800 the Assembly did pass such a law, whose provisions, moreover, applied not only to Schönbrunn, but to the other tracts included in the grant, and authorizing the missionaries and the agent to seize any & all liquor that should be brought into their domain, & do with it as they should think proper. The missionaries hoped that the passage of this law would have the desired effect, but they were disappointed. Its enforcement in one instance did indeed, for a short time, serve as a check to the unscrupulous traders. One of these, from Sandusky, in defiance of the Act, of whose passage he was well aware, & of the warning of the missionaries, came to the village of Goshen with a supply of liquor which he offered to the Indians for sale or in exchange for peltry. The missionary Zeisberger, although then in his eightieth year, in his zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, took up an axe, stove the kegs, & poured the contents into the river. But an outcry was raised against the act, as being an infringement on the rights and liberties of a free and independent people, which actually led to its speedy repeal. Some parties in the neighborhood did not even wait for its repeal, but introduced & sold liquor within the limits of the tract, and violated the law so grossly that the missionaries were powerless to prevent intoxication, with its attendant evils, & occasional brawls even on the Sabbath. There was but one Magistrate within sixty miles, & to him the threat was conveyed that his brains would be knocked out if he interfered.

This state of things, in the spring of 1802, must be

regarded as the original occasion of the decline of the Goshen Indians in morality. They could not, when attending to their daily pursuits, avoid seeing & hearing what was injurious to them, & moreover the actual temptations & snares laid by immoral whites to drag them down to their own level of degradation were so numerous that it was impossible for their missionaries to guard against them all. Drunkenness was the chief vice that crept in among them, & yet I can truthfully state that during the period of my residence in that country, that is up to the year 1810, no such thing as a general drinking carousal occurred among the Goshen Indians. What drunken revels took place, were confined to a few individuals. Another evil to which they were exposed was the effort made by unprincipled & self-seeking neighbors to destroy their confidence in their missionaries, & awaken sentiments of mistrust & suspicion in their minds by representing that their ministers & the agent drew large salaries made up by the rent of lands that belonged to the Indians,—that the grant was made for the benefit of the latter, & that they should insist on having the lands divided among them, when their white neighbors would back them & pay them such rents in actual cash that each could have plenty of money without toiling for it. These calumnies & misrepresentations were unfortunately not without effect, although they were entirely without foundation. The missionaries received no salaries, & during the twelve years that I served the society & the Indians as Agent I never received a dollar for my services. The provision made for our support was as follows. The Society furnished us with a house, our table was supplied with such articles as the land afforded, and for clothing we kept sheep & raised flax, my family, consisting entirely of females, spinning the wool & linen. Such little luxuries as coffee & tea were purchased from

the proceeds of the farm. I made two journeys to Bethlehem on business of the Society, for the expenses of which I never made any charge.

If all the causes contributing to the decline of the Goshen Indians in morality, & their consequent failure to advance in intelligence, are kept in mind, it will be most unjust to lay much blame upon them. It was not their fault that they spent much time in idleness. It was from want of occupation at home, or of employment elsewhere where they could get honest pay for their labor. Too often they were the victims of men who hired them, & compelled them to accept liquor or useless trash by way of remuneration. In their previous dealings with honest people, they had done as well as white people. One of the Goshen Indians (now deceased), built my dwelling house in Gnadenhuetten, as well as another house for a family that settled there. Both these houses were of squared timbers, shingle roofed, with neat upper & lower floors, laid with split and hewn puncheons. He could hew more square feet from the stump in a day than any of the white carpenters I had in my employ at that place. He did all his work, even to the building of the chimney, in the best manner, & honestly earned the money we paid him for it. This same Indian had, twenty years before, built me a spacious dwelling-house at Salem on the Muskingum, & once, at my request, he enumerated all the houses he had built for white people & Indians since he had joined the congregation; they amounted to between twenty and thirty. Of the three sons of the chief Killbuck, who had been of so much service to the United States during the Revolutionary war, & who died in 1811, the oldest, John Henry, spent some time at Princeton College, where he received a good education, & afterwards served the mission as Chapel interpreter, while the two younger,

Charles and Christian G. Henry, were bright, active and industrious young men, who only needed the employment they could not, under existing circumstances, find at Goshen, in order to become prosperous & independent. Wherever the Christian Indians had hitherto lived, they could always find sufficient work to keep them constantly employed. When they lived in Northampton County, they worked at day-labor for wages, as I have already stated. While at Wyalusing on the Susquehannah, they sold large quantities of corn, sugar, butter, pork &c. to the Indians who lived further up the river, who would rather hunt & exchange their peltry for such articles than cultivate their lands. For these, as well as for white people living more than a hundred miles below them on the river, they also made neat white pine canoes, for which they received ready pay. The same was the case when they lived on the Muskingum before the beginning of the American Revolution. For several years the northern traders bought up large quantities of Indian corn from the Christian Indians at Schönbrunn and Gnadenhütten, which they transported by way of the rivers Muskingum and Cuyahoga in canoes to Lake Erie, & thence across the lake in batteaux to Detroit, for the northwestern trade. Their bacon, butter, cheese, sugar &c. they could sell to traders, or exchange for such articles as they needed. In later times they could not even calculate on remaining in possession of property they had acquired by their industry, as is shown by only a few instances of losses they sustained. The Society furnished them with harness, ploughs & other agricultural implements, & they themselves purchased horses. Scarcely had they begun their farm work when their horses, five or six in number, disappeared. After a long fruitless search in the woods, they learnt, from various sources, that the animals had been taken by horse-

thieves from the Ohio settlement, & either sold or made away with. After being put to great expense in employing white people who were their friends to search out the places where the horses had been taken & the persons to whom they had been sold by the thieves, & in seeking advice how to have their property restored to them, or to secure indemnification, they were informed by a magistrate who desired to see justice done them, that, the principal thief having run off, all his property had been seized to pay the costs & charges of the court for the trial, and that, as a surplus would be left, they might secure this by petitioning the legislature. This was done & the legislature passed an act granting their petition, so that they received a partial compensation for their loss. But as it was not sufficient fully to indemnify them, & as they feared that the purchase of more horses would be followed by similar disasters, they were discouraged, & instead of settling down, as they had intended, to agricultural pursuits, they only raised such crops as were necessary for their bare subsistence.

Another instance occurred within the last year or two. One of the Goshen Indians made a fine large trough for collecting and preserving his sugar sap for boiling. He missed the trough one day, & on going to a good friend of his for advice, the two together soon discovered it neatly fixed in a new stable of one of the tenants on the land as a feeding trough for his cattle. Taking further advice for the recovery of his property, he obtained a search warrant, but the thief, hearing of these proceedings not only hastily removed the trough from the stable, but stood with a gun in hand ready to shoot the Indian the moment he should approach the house to prove his property. Again, the missionary, Zeisberger, had a fine young cherry tree in an enclosure adjoining his dwelling house & close to the meeting house. When this tree

was loaded with cherries, and a few days before the missionary had intended to gather them, it was stripped of all its fruit by white people from the neighborhood on a Sunday while the congregation was attending divine service.

Were it not that some people hold & advocate the opinion that the Indians are not susceptible of being civilized & forming civilized communities, which opinion seems in a manner to be corroborated by such inference as the Senator from Ohio, who followed the mover of the Resolutions adopted by the Senate of the United States on the 22d of February last, drew from the state of things at Goshen, I should not have thought of bringing all these facts to public view. Neither have I any other object in doing it now than to make a truthful & comprehensive statement to that authority which has officially applied to me to furnish answers to certain questions. It has seemed to me impossible to present the case clearly & effectively, so as to lead to correct conclusions, without laying all sides open to view.

If a missionary establishment in the neighborhood of white people is to be carried on successfully, it is necessary that good & appropriate laws be made to secure their temporal welfare & prosperity, & that they also be enforced. If the Indians see that justice is done them to the same degree as to the whites, they will be satisfied, knowing whither to resort for relief when maliciously treated, or unjustly dealt with. The confidence they would place in such a government would be a strong inducement to improve their morals & an encouragement to industry, especially if they perceived that the magistrates near them acted in harmony with their superiors in carrying out such laws.

While I am always free to admit that the Society of the United Brethren, with all the care they may take, are

as liable to err & make mistakes as the rest of the human race, yet I venture to defend them against the charge of either knowingly & wilfully committing unjust acts, or of endeavoring to make others odious in the eyes of the public by wrongfully & maliciously accusing them of crimes & misconduct. I have already, in a separate statement of facts respecting the land which the Society of the United Brethren held in trust for the use of the Christian Indians & some other individuals, taken notice of a few of the hints and suggestions thrown out by the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) implying that the Brethren have not dealt fairly with the Indians in the discharge of their duties as trustees, (I allude to the passage in which he said that "it would have been idle in him to undertake to put the Senate upon the inquiry, without being able to suggest a failure of their use.") And now the unpleasant task is imposed upon me of exposing & correcting a material error into which the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Brown) fell when he stated in his speech that "a large congregation of Indians whom they (the United Brethren) had, by laboring fifty years, converted to Christianity, has now become nearly extinct—dwindled down to a few families—and that the ostensible object of that mission, in which Mr. Heckewelder had spent more than forty years, has totally failed."

To this statement of Mr. Brown I beg to reply, *first*, that the Christian Indians among whom the Brethren labored so many years, or their survivors & descendants, (notwithstanding all the disasters which have befallen them in consequence of massacres, wars & dispersions, to say nothing of natural deaths) are now, & were at the time the words were uttered by the Senator just quoted, settled on the Thames River in Upper Canada, to the the number of at least *one hundred & fifty souls*, form-

ing, as far as my information goes, a fine flourishing congregation. They are in charge of two devoted missionaries Luckenbach and Haman, & are chiefly employed in agricultural pursuits. *These Indians* (and not those at present dwelling at Goshen) are, to speak correctly, the remnants of the once so flourishing people among whom I had resided. As the President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, who keeps up a continual correspondence with the missionaries stationed in Canada, has had the resolutions adopted by the Senate on the 22d of February forwarded to him, he will, of course, comply with the request made of him, & give a more particular account of the state of that mission, the morals of the Indians, & their advance or decline in mental endowments than I could do, being no longer in regular correspondence with them.

Secondly, The Indians at present at Goshen, whom the Senator from Ohio mistook for the remnant of that large & flourishing congregation among whom the Brethren had labored so long, were, with the exception of one elderly woman, the daughter of the carpenter Ignatius previously alluded to, all of a new stock gathered a number of years after the Revolutionary war had terminated. Some came from the Sandusky, & the Killbuck family from Pittsburg, where they had resided a number of years, and several of the sons had been taught to read & write, together with the youngest son of the late Captain White Eyes, his wife and two or three children.

As the history of the last named families & the way in which they came in for a share of the benefits accruing from the land granted to the Society in trust may not be generally known, I will briefly recount them here. The heads of both these families, being chieftains of the Delaware nation, had striven to the best of their ability to keep the nation at peace with the United States, &

had been the means of saving many lives during the contest with Great Britain ; but finally, their object having been defeated by their opponent Captain Pipe, who joined the enemy & thereby caused a division in the nation, they both took the field as captains, & marched against the enemy under American Commanders. Captain White Eyes fell a victim to the small-pox while marching with General Mackintosh to Tuscarawas. Killbuck went out with Colonel Brodhead against the enemy, & thereby incurred the hatred of his inimical countrymen to such an extent that they publicly declared him an outlaw, to be shot or murdered wherever found. And in fact he had many narrow escapes, even after the war was over, for at one time, after he had connected himself with the Christian Indians, his life had to be purchased by these & his sons, the enemy being already at his door to murder him.

Both these great men, Killbuck & White Eyes, had also, before the war, & for some years during its continuance, made strenuous efforts to gradually civilize their nation, & to this end had kept up a continual correspondence with the then Indian Agent, Col. George Morgan, & other American officers, all which was to be laid before Congress with a view to the consummation of their project at the termination of the war. The scheme, however, desirable & to all appearance practicable as it was, was totally defeated by the horrid murder both of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, & of the peaceable Indians under the protection of the American Government at, or near, Pittsburg, where Killbuck so narrowly escaped with his life, while the promising young chief, together with other estimable men of the nation, was killed.

Killbuck learned that Congress, agreeably to promises made at the commencement of the war, had reserved, &

would secure to the Moravian Indians all the land they claimed & occupied on the Muskingum (being the three tracts Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten and Salem). Congress had also promised him that both he & White Eyes should be regarded & rewarded the same as other officers of the United States, & ultimately each receive his due proportion of donation lands. He accordingly, for himself & the heirs of his late friend Captain White Eyes, requested that Congress would give them lands *adjoining* those of the Moravian or Christian Indians, inasmuch as, since the project of civilizing the nation had come to nought, & he himself no longer dared to live among his bad countrymen, he had decided to join the Christian Indians, where he would be out of danger, as these were his friends, & always settled by themselves. This proposition being approved by Congress, the names of Killbuck & of the descendants of White Eyes were included in the grant. The Government of the United States at that time regarded it as a solemn duty to fulfil all the provisions that had been made to the Indians both at the commencement of the war & from time to time afterwards, & the least it could do, & agreed to do for the Christian Indians, was to indemnify them for their losses, which, at a low valuation, were estimated at ten thousand dollars. But there being at that time no money in the United States Treasury, it was agreed that their land should in the first place be secured to them, & that, whenever they returned from Canada to settle on it, they should be supplied with one hundred blankets & five hundred bushels of Indian corn.

On my return to the United States in the fall of 1786, at every town and place through which I passed between Pittsburg & Bethlehem where I met with American officers who had at any time been stationed on frontier posts, I was congratulated on what Congress had already

done & would still do for the Christian Indians, who had suffered so much on account of their friendly attitude & the manifest services they had rendered to the United States by striving to keep the nation at peace & deterring war parties bent on murder & pillage, & was assured that these friendly Indians, as well as the chiefs Killbuck & White Eyes would be well rewarded for all they had done. I name the Generals Butler, Hand, Brodhead, Gibson, Irwin and Neville as having been particularly prominent in uttering these sentiments in public, always adding that Congress could not do too much for the Moravian Indians, nor for Killbuck & the family of White Eyes. And General Richard Butler told me at two different times between the years 1786 and 1791 that he would procure land warrants for both Killbuck & the heirs of White Eyes, which they might locate where they pleased, &, if they chose, might sell for cash, and then go & settle among the Christian Indians provided with the wherewithal to live, for that he did not consider the naming of these chiefs by Congress in the grant to the Moravian Indians was to be the reward for their services, but merely a recognition of their membership in the community of Christian Indians. But as this general lost his life in St. Clair's defeat, nothing further was done in the matter. This same officer had moreover observed to me that "had the chiefs of the Delaware nation, together with the Christian Indians pursued a different course, & joined the enemy and taken up the hatchet against the Americans, it would have cost the United States much blood & treasure to have withstood them and checked their progress into the settlements, to say nothing of the weakening it would have occasioned in our already feeble armies on the seaboard, by draining them of troops for the western service, which might have proved fatal to the cause!" Such was the language

of an intelligent officer who had, previous to the war, transacted business among the western nations, knew their strength & resources, could speak several Indian languages, & had also frequently been at the Moravian settlements in that country. Similar testimony was borne by other officers who had served on the frontier.

But what was the final result of all the good will and fair promises of Congress & its officials? First there was an unavoidable delay in carrying out what was intended & enacted for the benefit for the Christian Indians & the chieftains already named from actual want of the necessary means. Then came the adoption of the new constitution & a change in the Government, so that the whole business had to be done over again, and that by new hands, apparently not sufficiently acquainted with the matter & merits of the case, & in part not friendly to Indians of any description. The upshot was that when the land was granted to the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen in trust for the sole use & benefit of the Christian Indians, Killbuck and the descendants of Captain White Eyes, it was done in such a manner as to greatly hamper the Society & to surround its administration of the trust by numerous difficulties, besides involving it deeply in debt in order to raise a revenue sufficient to meet the prescribed conditions of the trust, without in any manner providing for the reimbursement of the money it advanced in order to make the land productive. To make the matter short, this trust land may be considered as the source of much evil, & as early as the year 1798, even before the Society had commenced a settlement on it, it had nearly become a bone of contention, involving the Society in a lawsuit. For, in 1797, the sons of the late Captain White Eyes, not having been put into possession of the donation lands promised to their father for the

services he had rendered to the United States, applied to various persons for advice as to how they were to come to their land, & were told that they no longer had to look to the American Government for it, but to the Moravian Society, unto which, as the deed would sufficiently show, the lands belonging to the Christian Indians, to Killbuck & to them had been confided. George, the elder son of the family, accordingly had a Power of Attorney drawn up authorizing and empowering an attorney-at-law in Washington, Pennsylvania, to get his land surveyed out of the grant which the Moravian Society held in trust, as well as a deed in fee simple for the same. But while he was on his way to Washington in the spring of 1798 to put this instrument into his agent's hands, he was shot dead near Georgetown, while in a state of intoxication, by a white lad of the neighborhood.

Had George succeeded in his suit, he would have been followed by his brother Joseph, & probably by Killbuck and his heirs after him, & perhaps even by some of the Christian Indians whose claims to a share of the land were just as well founded by reason 1, of the gift by the chiefs of the nation, 2, of actual improvement and occupation for a number of successive years, and 3, of the promises made them by the American Congress at the commencement of the war.

And here I again ask, What finally came of all the fair promises of Congress & its officials with regard to indemnification for losses sustained & reward for the services rendered both by the Christian Indians & by Chiefs Killbuck & White Eyes? With reluctance I have to reply that the result was absolutely nothing that could be of any real service to them. For the mere *occupation* of a tract of land is of no account to an Indian who can have that anywhere in his own country without asking

for it. Their *ownership* was put out of the question by the nature of the grant which did not empower the trustees to convey by deed any portion of it even to such Indians as were its beneficiaries. Thus the poor Indian received nothing at all from that quarter, neither the land, nor the blankets, nor the five hundred bushels of corn that had been promised them!

But what has the Society of the United Brethren done for these people? In contradiction of all the suspicions, censures and, I may add, slanders incurred by the Society, I freely answer that they have at all times served the Indians to the best of their ability, not only in the way of serving them with Christian ministers and teachers, but also by expending large sums of money in order to supply them with necessaries of life & requisites for their civilization. They were even as a parent to the venerable William Henry Killbuck while he lived, & to some extent made amends to him for the failure of Congress to keep its promises. They supported him for more than twelve successive years, feeding and clothing him when in need, & caring for him when sick.

In conclusion it seems proper to me to make mention here of two noble acts of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The first is that, on my representing to that honorable body, in December 1810, what great services the chief William Henry Killbuck had rendered the state during the Revolutionary war, & the situation in which he then was, it at once settled on him a pension of forty dollars a year as long as he should live, & besides ordered that a rifle of the best workmanship be presented to each of his three sons, in order that they might see that an enlightened Legislature was not wanting in appreciation of the services rendered to the state by their father. The good old man, however, took sick and died before the first payment of his pension could be made, but the rifles

were faithfully delivered to his sons, & they acknowledged the gift in a polite letter to the Legislature. The second is that when, about the year 1794, the state proceeded to confer on its officers & soldiers the donation lands which had been promised them for their services during the war, five thousand acres of excellent land were also granted in fee simple to the Society of the United Brethren as an acknowledgment of their faithful labors among the Indians while they resided in Pennsylvania, & to reimburse them in some measure for the expense they had been at, and for the losses they had sustained in their laudable efforts to christianize the red men. The noble-hearted Governor, Thomas Mifflin, was foremost in this transaction. After first suggesting it to members of the Legislature, & finding that it met with their approbation, he urged the Rev. John Ettwein, Bishop of the United Brethren, to apply to the Legislature for the grant, which was promptly made. Although the Society has been at considerable expense in attempting to make this land productive, & has not, as yet, effected this purpose, still, being in no wise shackled by provisos or hampered by conditions unattainable for years to come, it can in the end lose nothing; since, if its expectations of a future revenue from the land should fail, it will be able to indemnify itself for its outlays by selling a portion of it, as it holds it in fee simple.

John Heckewelder.

HISTORY

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society

From March 30, 1857, to August 31, 1894.

BY HENRY A. JACOBSON, A.M.

HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FROM MARCH 30, 1857, TO AUGUST 31, 1894.

In the issue of *The Moravian* for December 19, 1856, the following communication is to be found:

ED. MORAVIAN; DEAR BRETHREN:

Will you allow me the use of your columns to suggest to the members of our Church the expediency of forming a Moravian Historical Society?

But very little is generally known of the early history of the Brethren's Church in America. By means of such a Society, all possible light would be thrown on this very interesting subject, besides preserving, before it is too late, many a precious relic connected with the history and customs of our forefathers.

The attempt is, at least, worth making. Will some brother take the lead.

Yours, PIERREPONT.

This communication was the outcome of a number of informal interviews which took place during the Summer of 1856 between several persons residing at and near Nazareth, who were much interested in the early history of our Church in this country, and who considered that the idea of organizing a Moravian Historical Society would be favorably entertained by the membership of the Church. In that year (1856), at the Synod convened at Bethlehem preparatory to the General Synod, there was considerable feeling on the question of provincial

independence; the desire therefor had seemed to be very general at the Synod held in 1855, but when the details of the plan came up for consideration, much controversy ensued. Some wished to remove *all* the landmarks that marked the various periods of our Church history; others would drop this, and keep that; still others were totally opposed to changes of any sort. Although these differences were finally reconciled, there was undoubtedly reason to fear that the eagerness of those who advocated radical measures and wished to change everything, as opposed to the rigid conservatism of those who would change nothing, might destroy, at least partially, the reverence and love for all that is most excellent in our Church history and ritual, and give a serious check to the little antiquarian spirit that already existed among us. [A local influence may also have been exerted by the Centennial Anniversary of the Nazareth congregation, November 13, 1856.]

The first meeting to consider the expediency of forming a Moravian Historical Society was held one snowy evening in March, 1857, in the chapel of Nazareth Hall, those present being the Principal and teachers of the Hall, the Professors and most of the students of the Theological Seminary (then located at Ephrata), besides some other residents of Nazareth and Boulton.

A constitution having been adopted, the following officers were elected at the meeting held March 30, 1857: *President*, James Henry; *Vice-President*, Christian R. Hoeber; *Treasurer*, William Beitel; *Recording Secretary*, Eugene Leibert; *Corresponding Secretary*, Herman Brickenstein; *Managers*, Edward H. Reichel, Henry J. Van Vleck, John C. Brickenstein; *Librarian*, Lewis R. Huebener. At one of these meetings it was decided that Nazareth was the best location for the Society, inasmuch as the Faculty of Nazareth Hall and the Professors

and students of the Theological Seminary would be more directly benefited thereby, and because they would for that very reason take more active interest in its affairs. (See *Moravian*, May 1, 1857.)

During the Summer and Fall of that year (1857) the Constitution was printed in *The Moravian*, circulars were distributed in all the congregations of the Province, several life members were obtained, some donations of money, books and relics were received, the use of the northwest room in the church for a Museum had been granted by the Board of Trustees of the congregation, and propositions were even entertained looking towards the acquirement of a plot of ground where a building for the use of the Society might be erected. Donations had been received not only from members of the Society and of the Church, but likewise from a large number of non-Moravian antiquarians. Besides a number of honorary members, at the end of the year 1857 the roll contained the names of 7 life members and 25 active members.

The first meetings were held in the Hall chapel, then Bro. Henry J. Van Vleck's school room was used, and in 1858, when the property of the Society was moved to Ephrata, the meetings were held there. [From October, 1857, to April, 1858, the books and relics of the Society found a temporary resting place in Daniel Wilhelm's shop, which was rented for that purpose.] From Ephrata the next move was made in October, 1860, to the second story front room of the Parochial School building. In the Fall of 1871 the property of the Society was again transferred to its present quarters at Ephrata, and it is to be hoped its wanderings are now over.

During the very first year of the Society's existence the active sympathy of Mr. John Jordan, Jr., of Philadelphia, was enlisted, and his interest in its work continued

unabated, and was manifested in many ways until his death in 1890.

At the stated meeting held October 12, 1857, it was resolved, "That we date the existence of the Society from the first stated meeting held on April 13, 1857." It was the original intention to hold the annual meetings on March 1; but as it was inconvenient for the non-resident members to attend at that season of the year, the date was changed to the third Wednesday of October; in 1874 it was again changed to the month of September.

The first "Vesper" was held on Thanksgiving Day afternoon, November 18, 1858, in the second story front room of the Ephrata building. Only male members were present, and the entire company numbered 13. After singing a hymn, the members partook of the vesper prepared by the committee appointed for that duty; then cigars were lighted, and the President, Bro. James Henry, delivered the anniversary address. (This address is to be found in the *Transactions of the Society*, Vol. I, pp. 22 to 31. A description of the relics and books then owned by the Society will be found in the same volume, pp. 20 and 21.) Remarks by some of the members present and announcements of donations occupied the rest of the afternoon, until the hour for singing the closing hymn arrived. Such has been, in general, the order of exercises ever since. The attendance has been regulated in great measure by the weather; but every year, without fail, the annual vesper has been held. Two years later, the female members were invited to partake of the good things for body and mind provided on that occasion;[1] and in more recent years they have constituted almost a majority of the company. The crowding connected with the accommodation of the increased number

[1] Of the 54 persons present on that occasion (November 15, 1860), 15 were female members of the Society.

of guests caused the vesper of 1891 to be held in the chapel of Nazareth Hall. The comfort of the company was enhanced, but the antiquarian flavor was absent. The members preferred to meet in more contracted quarters amid the suggestive reminders of the past, in the hope that in time such changes may be introduced in our present home as will provide for the comfortable accommodation of all who may attend. The high water mark of attendance was reached in 1892, when 36 members attended the business meeting in the morning, and 158 were present at the vesper in the afternoon. The annual elections for officers were sometimes held before Vesper Day, sometimes after it; in 1866 and 1867 (when public interest in the affairs of the Society had reached a low point,) they were postponed till the Spring of the following year. In November, 1864, the Business Meeting was held in the morning; but this usage was not regularly introduced till October 14, 1868; at this meeting the annual election of officers took place. In 1871 the formal dedication of the recently occupied rooms at Ephrata took place. On this occasion the Nazareth church choir sang several anthems. This loving service was faithfully performed every year until 1890, when the use of printed psalms was introduced, the hymns thereon being sung by the assembled guests at suitable intervals. (A detailed account of the celebration in 1871 is given in the *Transactions of the Society*, Vol. I, pp. 427 to 441.)

The stated meetings of the Society were at first held monthly, but after December, 1860, quarterly meetings were found frequent enough to transact the necessary business. The difficulty of gathering a quorum caused a further change in 1873, since which year the business of the Society has been carried on by the Executive Committee, which meets quarterly and reports its pro

ceedings to the members at the annual meeting. Since the year 1869 non-Moravians have been admitted as associate members. In 1860 the Society was incorporated, and in 1880 a seal was procured. Since 1872 the property of the Society has been insured.

The Constitution (Art. I) states the object of the Society to be "the elucidation of the history of the Moravian Church in America, not, however, to the exclusion of the general history of the Moravian Church." As aids to the accomplishment of this object, in a circular issued during the first year of the Society's existence, donations or deposits were solicited as follows: "1st, Books and pamphlets that relate in any manner to the Moravian Church, from the earliest times, whether written by Moravians or others, for or against Moravianism. 2. Copies of printed sermons, or other religious or literary productions of Moravians. 3. Printed or manuscript histories and statistics of single congregations. 4. Manuscript journals, autobiographies, letters of ministers and laymen, and even when these are not considered of historical interest,—maps, pictures and relics." (*Transactions, Vol. I, p. 9.*)

The condition of our tables and cases proves that the members have diligently responded to this appeal; we possess a good many works treating of the history of our Church, and a large number of pictures, maps and relics. However, in none of these departments is the collection complete. Yet we hope that the omissions will be remedied in the course of time through the efforts of our members. It is not surprising that at times some books have been donated which do not really belong to a library such as ours should be; but by degrees these have been exchanged for others bearing more or less directly on Moravian history. The collection of Moravian Hymn Books, Text Books, Synodal Journals and Synodal Results is especially incomplete. A circular

was issued in 1878 calling for donations in this line, which elicited but few responses. In 1869 the pastors of the congregations organized since 1840 were individually requested to compile sketches of the settlement and organization of these congregations; but only a few replies were received.

At the meeting held April 11, 1859, the pastor of the Schœneck congregation (Bro. E. Linke) read a history of that congregation. During the Winter of 1869, at several special meetings convened for that purpose, Mr. James Henry communicated parts of his history of Nazareth. At sundry vesper gatherings brief sketches relating to the history of our older congregations, or biographies of some of the men prominent in the Ancient and Renewed Church have been read. In the published *Transactions of the Society* will be found histories of the extinct congregations of Hope (New Jersey), Christian's Spring, Broadbay (Maine), and of the early settlements in Southern New Jersey; also of the congregations in Staten Island and Ohio. A large number of shorter articles written by members of the Society also appeared in the columns of THE MORAVIAN. The efforts put forth in this direction have thus not been entirely barren of results.

The record shows that we possessed at the date of the annual meeting of 1894, 1,175 books, 2,400 pamphlets, 106 manuscripts, 700 relics, 261 pictures and 19 maps. At the same date the roll contained the names of 223 active and associate members and 69 life members, total 292.

Another method by which the work of the Society has been furthered is the publication of pamphlets or "Transactions," containing either papers read at the annual vespers, or articles specially prepared for this publication. The first pamphlet was issued in 1859; during the

Civil War it was found no easy task to collect the annual subscriptions, so that the second pamphlet could not be issued until 1868. But nearly every year since then a pamphlet has been published. For a number of years it has been possible to appropriate $150 annually for this purpose.

The total cost of these publications up to August 31, 1894, was $2,500.79. This expense has been met partly by the annual subscriptions, and partly by the interest of the Publication Fund. This fund contains all sums received from life members, and from sales of *Transactions*, bound and unbound; it amounted on August 31, 1894, to $1,230.90. Of those who have prepared the material for these pamphlets, the following have been called away by the hand of death; Bro. John C. Brickenstein, who died in 1880, when he had more than completed his fourscore years and ten; Bro. William C. Reichel, who was forced to lay aside his pen in 1876, when he was still busily engaged in antiquarian researches; Bro. Edmund de Schweinitz, who departed this life very suddenly on December 18, 1887, while still actively engaged in the service of the Church. Nor must we forget Bro. Amadeus A. Reinke, who more than once read papers at the annual vespers, and who passed his last days in Herrnhut, where he died August 10, 1889; his remains were interred on the beautiful Hutberg; or Bro. Edwin G. Klosè, who superintended the publication of many of the *Transactions of the Society*, and who was called away on September 15, 1894, only a few days after the annual meeting for that year had been held; or Bro. John Jordan, Jr., who assisted the Society in various ways in its publication department, and who died in 1890, aged 82 years. While this pamphlet is in press, Bro. James Henry, the honored President of the Society for so many years, has been called to his heavenly home. That

the interests of the Society lay very near to his heart was plainly evidenced in the many excellent addresses he made at the annual vespers, in which he urged the members to preserve from desecration all that is best in the literature, worship and usages of our church. He departed this life on June 14, aged 85 years, 8 months and 1 day. These are no longer able to assist us in their several capacities, but we honor their memory; truly, their works do follow them.

Another labor of love which has been undertaken by the members of the Society has been the erection of monuments at various points to mark the sites of sundry places of burial which would otherwise have been lost sight of entirely. The first erected were in memory of the missionaries Büttner, Bruce and Powell at Shekomeko and Wechquadnach, N. Y. At the stated meeting held July 11, 1859, a committee was appointed to collect the necessary funds and superintend the erection of these memorial stones. This committee was composed of the Brethren Sylvester Wolle, chairman, Peter Wolle, Henry A. Shultz, William C. Reichel, A. G. Kern, Granville Henry, John Beck, to whom were added later the following honorary members: John A. McAllister, Townsend Ward, John Jordan, Jr., Rev. Sheldon Davis and Benson J. Lossing. The attention of the Society was first called to the matter by the Rev. Sheldon Davis, of Pleasant Valley, N. Y., who had, as early as 1850, discovered evidences of the existence in former times of the Moravian Indian mission stations near his home. The two monuments were set up in September, 1859, on lands belonging to Messrs. Andrew Lake and Edward Hunting. The dedicatory services were held on October 5 and 6, memorial addresses being delivered by the Revs. Peter Wolle, Edmund de Schweinitz, Edwin T. Senseman, Sheldon Davis and Frederick Sill (of New York). The

entire cost of the monuments was $276.41. In the Spring of 1880, through the kindness of Mr. Isaac Hunting, of Pine Plains, N. Y., the Society became the possessor of the headstone of the grave of the missionary Joseph Powell, which had a short time before been found on the land of Mr. Hiram Clark. Since 1882, Mr. Isaac Hunting has annually rendered a report concerning the condition of these monuments. [A detailed history of these ceremonies will be found in "Moravians in New York and Connecticut," written by William C. Reichel.]

A similar monument at Wyalusing, Bradford County, Penna., was dedicated with appropriate services on June 14 and 15, 1871, to mark the site of mission stations located there and at Friedenshuetten between the years 1765 and 1772. This undertaking, though not originated by our Society, was encouraged by many of our members, a large number of whom were present at the dedicatory services. The cost of the memorial stone was $315.00. The history of this mission, and the details of the ceremonies of dedication are recorded in the *Transactions*, Vol. I, pp. 179 to 224.

At the stated meeting of the Society, held December 26, 1860, it was determined to endeavor to obtain possession of the plot of ground first used as a place of burial by the congregations of Nazareth and vicinity. Various delays intervened until in the Summer of 1865 the Board of Trustees of the congregation at Nazareth transferred to the Society this plot, together with a path leading to the same. In June, 1866, the lot was enclosed with a fence, and the Board of Trustees took the deed for the land, at the same time giving the Society a perpetual lease. In the Spring and early Summer of 1867 the monument now in position with the adjoining pavilion was erected, the cost being met by means of contributions from members and friends residing in Nazareth,

Bethlehem, Philadelphia and Lititz; all of the labor in constructing the foundations for these structures was performed gratuitously by members of the Nazareth congregation. The dedicatory services were held on June 17, the memorial address being delivered by the Rev. Edward Rondthaler (then pastor of the Moravian church in Brooklyn, N. Y.). In 1868 the sum of two hundred dollars was conveyed to the Society by John Jordan, Jr., to constitute a "Summer-house fund;" one-third of the interest was to be spent in repairs to the pavilion, the remainder to be invested until the capital should amount to a sum sufficient to replace the pavilion with a more durable and substantial structure. The fund is not yet large enough to carry out the second provision of the trust; but in 1889 the condition of the pavilion necessitated repairs which cost $115.24. The total amount of the fund at this time is $433.72.

At the stated meeting of the Society held April 11, 1859, a resolution was adopted requesting the Provincial Elders' Conference to appoint Mr. J. Keller, of Sharon, Ohio, as Curator of the old Goshen burial ground. During the next twenty years the interest in its care and preservation gradually decreased; and in the year 1882 the intention was expressed by some parties in Ohio to remove the remains of David Zeisberger from their resting place to some spot where his grave might be more attentively cared for.

By and with the consent of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which Society holds the title to the Goshen burial ground, a circular was issued to the members and friends of our Society calling for contributions towards providing a suitable enclosure about the grave of David Zeisberger and likewise about that of his co-laborer, the missionary William Edwards, for they lie but a few feet apart. So liberal was the response that not only could

this portion of the burial ground be enclosed with an iron fence resting on stone posts, but a fund was created called the "Zeisberger Memorial Fund," the interest of which is to be used for repairs, etc., whenever this is found necessary. This fund, with accrued interest, now amounts to $158.95. Since 1882 Mr. J. D. Cunning of Sharon, Ohio, has filled the office of Curator of the enclosure. At the annual meeting of the Society held September 4, 1890, it was resolved to take measures looking to the preservation of the Schönbrunn tract near Sharon, Ohio. Mr. Cunning was therefore appointed Curator of this tract also.

Our Society has thus slowly but steadily carried out the intentions of its founders; indeed, almost all the achievements of the Society in later years were suggested in resolutions passed during the first year of its existence. Yet it is only within the last twenty years that its efforts have met with the liberal encouragement of the members of our churches. In the beginning, interest in its affairs was manifested by only a chosen few; in fact, in 1868 it seemed as if its usefulness had come to an end. But, by slow degrees, the careful husbanding of its resources began to bear fruit, until at this time it is possible to guarantee a publication of some sort every year. In 1858, the *Publication Fund* was $70; in 1869, $450; in 1894, $1,230.90. In 1858, the *Investments* were $75; in 1869, $325; in 1894, $1,757.75. In 1858, the *Annual Subscriptions* (from 34 members) were $17; in 1869, $114.25; in 1894, $167.25. These figures indicate steady, healthy growth. Let us hope that the crisis of our Society's existence is past, and that coming years will witness still greater success than has been achieved hitherto.

APPENDIX.

TITLES OF PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1858.—The Ephrata House.—By James Henry.

1860.—The Deep Foundations of Early Moravianism.—By James Henry.

1861.—Moravian "Vespers."—By James Henry.

Extracts from the Diary of Nazareth, 1745 and 1746.—By John C. Brickenstein.

1862.—Additional Extracts from the Diary of Nazareth, 1746.—By John C. Brickenstein.

1863.—The First "Sea Congregation."—By John C. Brickenstein. (See Transactions, Vol. I, p. 33.)

David Zeisberger (First Paper).—By Edmund de Schweinitz.

History of Hope, N. J.—By C. F. Kluge. (See Transactions, Vol. I, p. 51.)

1864.—The Second "Sea Congregation."—By John C. Brickenstein. (See Transactions, Vol. I, p. 107.)

David Zeisberger (Second Paper).—By Edmund de Schweinitz.

1865.—Moravian Sermons.—By James Henry.

The Old Graveyard at Nazareth.—By John C. Brickenstein.

1867.—History of Christian's Spring.—By James Henry. (See Transactions, Vol. I, p. 64.)

1868.—Life in a Moravian Village in the Olden Time (Nazareth Being the Type). — By James Henry.

Extracts from the Diary of the Lititz Brethren's House.—By Louis R. Huebener.

Extracts from the Diary of Bethlehem.—By John C. Brickenstein.

1869.—Extracts from the Diary of Bethlehem, 1742.—By Eugene Leibert.

Protestation of Reformed and Lutheran Churches of Philadelphia against the Moravians, 1742.—Read by Edmund de Schweinitz.

1871.—"Disjecta Membra," Being a Fragmentary History of the Ephrata House.—By William C. Reichel. (See Transactions. Vol. I, p. 429.)

1872.—Moravian Manuscript Literature.—By James Henry. (See Transactions, Vol. IV, p. 15.)

1873.—The Visit of the Chiefs of the Six Nations to Nazareth in 1792.—By James Henry.

Extracts from Heckewelder's Diary of a Visit to Petquotting in 1789.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1874.—Account of the Organization of Nazareth Hall in 1785.—By James Henry.

Report of a Visitation by Charles Gotthold Reichel to Wyoming and Several other Places in Luzerne County, in 1791.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

The Life of David Nitschmann, Wagonwright, known as the Founder of Bethlehem.—By Wm. C. Reichel.

1875.—The Sisters' House at Nazareth, First Paper.—By James Henry.

The Sisters' House at Nazareth, Second Paper.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

The Secession of Three Members and their Families from the Church in Philadelphia.—By John W. Jordan.

1876.—Extracts of Letters of Bishop Cammerhof Relat-

ing to Early Times at Nazareth.—By James Henry.

Christian Henry Rauch's Journey to the Mohawk Indians.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

Poem Composed by Bro. Gregor for his Daughter on the Occasion of her Birthday.—Read by Henry A. Jacobson.

Historical Fragments Relating to the Church at Lebanon, or Hebron.—By John W. Jordan.

The Zauchtenthal Ivy. Record of the Planting of the Ivy at the Northwestern Gable of the Whitefield House.—By Wm. Henry Rice. (It being a cutting from the plant which he had brought from Zauchtenthal, Moravia, in 1869, and planted at the northeast corner of the church at York.)

1877.—Reminiscences of Revolutionary Times, with Reference to the Settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth.—By James Henry. (See Transactions, Vol. II, p. 37.)

Notes on the Condition of Nazareth, Christian's Spring and Friedensthal during the Revolution. By Henry A. Jacobson. (See Transactions, Vol. II, p. 43.)

Historical Sketch of the Use of Trombones in the American Congregations during the last Century.—By John W. Jordan.

Brief Abstract of the Minutes of the Moravian Historical Society since its Organization Twenty Years Ago.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1878.—The Historical Element in Moravian Writings.—By James Henry.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, Bethlehem, 1795. —By J. Max Hark.

Diary of the Brethren Cammerhof and Gottlieb Petzold on their Journey to Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch, from February 28 to March 11, 1749.—Translated by Henry A. Jacobson.

Selections from Shewkirk's Diary at New York during the Revolutionary Times.—By A. A. Reinke.

1879.—Government of the Moravian Village during the Exclusive System.—By James Henry.

Translation of the Diary of a Company of Brethren journeying from St. Petersburg to Sarepta, Russia, in January, 1790.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1880.—Impressions made on Distinguished Visitors at Nazareth during its Early Days.—By James Henry.

Historical Sketch of the Mission and Indian Village at Meniolagomeka.—By J. Max Hark. (See Transactions, Vol. II, p. 129.)

Moravian Wash-houses.—By John W. Jordan.

1881.—Some Additions to the History of the Rose Tavern and the Neighboring Settlements.—By James Henry.

Arrest and Trial of our Missionaries among the Indians of New England in June, 1743, as narrated by John Christopher Pyrlaeus.—Translated by J. Max Hark.

Narrative of the General Synod of 1789.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1882.—General Retrospect of the Moravian Historical Society's Transactions since its Organization.—By James Henry.

Biographical Sketch of John Henry Miller, Printer and Member of the Brethren's Church at Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War.—By John W. Jordan.

Sketch of the History of the Moravian Historical Society during the Past Twenty-five Years.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1883.—The Lehigh Ferry at Bethlehem.—By John W. Jordan.

The Brethren's House at Nazareth.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1884.—Memoir of Bishop Christian Gottlieb Hueffel.—By James Henry. (See Transactions, Vol. IV, p. 33.)

The Life of Mary Allen.—By John W. Jordan.

1885.—A History of the Vessels engaged in Transporting Colonists for the Moravian Settlements between 1742 and 1767.—By John W. Jordan.

1886.—The First Moravian Cemetery at Nazareth.—By James Henry. (See Transactions, Vol. IV, p. 29.)

Frederica Miskau, the Recluse of Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning.—By Robert Rau.

Historical Sketch of the Moravian Settlement at Broad Bay, Maine.—By John W. Jordan. (See Transactions, Vol. IV, p. 3.)

1887.—The Children of the Nursery.—By James Henry.

James Burnside, Planter, Evangelist and Politician.—By Abm. S. Schropp.

Nazareth Hall and its Steeple.—By Edward T. Kluge.

1888.—Music at Nazareth.—By James Henry.

Biographical Sketch of Edward Evans.—By John W. Jordan.

Diary of the Journey of Christian Froehlich and the Negro Andrew among the Negroes of New Jersey, New York, Long Island and Brunswick in November and December, 1748.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

1889.—Eminent Moravian Women of the Olden Time.—By James Henry.

Extract from the Diary of Rev. Lewis David de Schweinitz, Describing a Voyage from Holland to America during the Thrilling Times of the War of 1812.—By Robert de Schweinitz.

Attempts to Establish a Mission among the Chippeway Indians in Canada, from 1800 to 1807, by Christian Henry Denke and John Schnall.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

Lewis Weiss.—By John W. Jordan.

1890.—Flight and Dispersion of the Missionaries from Fairfield, Canada, in 1813.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

Another Fragment from the Diary of Rev. Lewis David de Schweinitz during his Voyage to America in 1812.—By Robert de Schweinitz.

1891.—The Malin Library.—By James Henry.

Christmas at Bethlehem.—By Henry A. Jacobson.

An Old Letter of 1766.—By John W. Jordan.

1892.—Sermon by the Bishop of Lodi, Delivered before the Sentence of John Hus was Carried Out.—Translated by Helen Bell.

The Work of Moravian Evangelists among the Swedes in New Jersey during the Eighteenth Century.—By J. Taylor Hamilton.

Four Hundred Miles Overland for a Bride.—By Wm. Henry Rice.

1893.—The Sesqui-centennial of the Whitefield House.—By Eugene Leibert.

Our History an Inheritance.—By James Henry.

1894.—Autobiography of Bernhard Adam Grube.—By J. Taylor Hamilton.

Extracts from the Diary of the Lancaster Congregation.—By John W. Jordan.

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